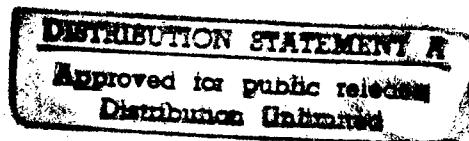


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JPRS-CRF-84-005

19 March 1984



China Report

RED FLAG

No. 2, 26 January 1984

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19 March 1984

CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No. 2, 26 January 1984

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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ON HUMANISM AND ALIENATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 26 Jan 84 pp 2-28

[Speech by Hu Qiaomu delivered at Central Party School on 3 January 1984, with some additions and revisions made before its publication. It was originally carried in Issue No 2 of LILUN YUEKAN [THEORY MONTHLY] sponsored by the Central Party School; passages within slantlines published in bold-face]

[Text] In the past few years, a debate has been waged in our theoretical circles centering on the issues of humanism and alienation. In this respect, hundreds of articles have been published and many special forums have been held. The debate has significance. In it, many important questions have been raised, which extensively promote studies on these questions. To answer and solve all these important questions in the debate is a great project which needs the common efforts of the broad theoretical workers. My speech today cannot deal with too many questions raised in the debate, but I will express my views on several major questions so that discussions can be held among us. If there are mistakes in my speech, please criticize and correct them.

With regard to humanism, I wish to point out first that it has two different meanings: One deals with the world outlook and the historical outlook; and the other deals with moral principles and moral standards. Between these two aspects there are associations as well as distinctions. In our current discussion on humanism, special attention should be paid to the differences between these two aspects, so that confusion in meanings can be avoided. Humanism as moral principles will be specially dealt with in the third part of my speech. The current debate centers primarily on humanism as world outlook and historical outlook. The fact is that most of the articles already published on humanism make no distinction between these two meanings, and most of them interpret and publicize humanism as the world outlook and the historical outlook that explain history and guide the reality. Of course, there are differences in the views of the articles that give publicity to humanism, and there are quite a number of articles which do not agree, or do not completely agree, with this kind of publicity, and different treatments should be given accordingly. However, it should be noted that at present, there is indeed such an ideological trend which aims at using humanism as the world outlook and the historical outlook to "supplement"

Marxism, and even wants to summarize Marxism as, or partly as, humanism. Some comrades have put forward such fundamental theoretical topics as "man is the starting point of Marxism." Some comrades have publicized such historical formulas as "man-non-man-man" (that is, man alienated into non-man, and reverted to man again after alienation is overcome). Some comrades hold that alienation not only exists in the capitalist society, but also exists in the socialist society. Some comrades are bent on publicizing in an abstract way such humanistic slogans as "the value of man" and "man is the objective," which are regarded as the means by which "alienation" can be overcome. All these views have raised such basic questions: How should we treat the development of human history, and how should we treat the development of the socialist society? What kind of a world outlook and historical outlook--the Marxist historical materialism or the humanistic historical idealism--should be used as the ideological weapon for us to observe these questions and guide our actions? I think that it is the core and essence of the present debate. Therefore, my speech will center on it and will not deal with the concrete content of certain articles by certain authors.

I will deal with four questions as follows: 1) What is the motive force of the progress of the human society? 2) What kind of ideology should be relied upon to guide our socialist society to advance continuously? 3) Why should we publicize and implement socialist humanism? 4) Can the theory of "alienation" be used to explain the negative phenomena in the socialist society? Because we are discussing some fundamental issues of Marxism, it is necessary to quote many of Marx' own words, but this is a good thing which can help us clarify what Marxism is and is not.

1. What Is the Motive Force of the Progress of the Human Society?

There have been many answers to this question in history. Fundamentally speaking, there are two answers: Historical idealism and historical materialism. With regard to various kinds of humanism in the Western history of ideology, from capitalist humanism to utopian socialism, their historical outlook is idealistic and they fail to provide a scientific explanation to questions in terms of the development of the human history and the motive force of social progress. It is only the historical materialism established by Marx that provides a scientific answer to this question, and on its basis the theory of scientific socialism is established.

Capitalist humanism emerged in the period of the Renaissance in Europe from the 14th century to the 16th century, and its initial form was humanism [ren wen zhu yi 0086 2429 0031 5030]. With particular reference to theology in the Middle Ages which eulogized God, belittled the status of man, looked down upon temporal (that is, not ecclesiastical) life, and promoted asceticism, the advocates of humanism, who were representatives of the newly emerging capitalist ideology, put forward the ideology giving prominence to human beings. They asked for respect for "human nature," "human dignity," and man's "free will," and advocated the idea of "acting in accordance with one's desire." They attached importance to man's temporal life and the significance of temporal enjoyment, and promoted temporal

education and scientific knowledge. Humanism resolutely opposed the theology of the Middle Ages which was the spiritual pillar of the feudal system, and played a great progressive role in history. In the capitalist revolutions during the 17th and the 18th centuries, the ideological trend of humanism came to the fore on the stage of history, and became the banner for capitalist Enlightenment thinkers in opposing the feudal autocracy and the system of classes. Slogans such as the "theory of natural rights" and "liberty, equality, and fraternity" played an important role in the process of the French Revolution, and created a very profound influence. Although humanism and the enlightenment in the Renaissance and humanism in the capitalist revolution were of great progressive significance, they are, nevertheless, idealistic from a historical point of view. What the advocates of humanism, the Enlightenment thinkers, and other capitalist humanist thinkers, called human beings and human nature were abstract human beings and abstract human nature. (Note) They maintained that the motive force of historical development and social progress lies in man's benevolent nature or his reason. The Enlightenment thinkers proposed that reason be regarded as the judicial platform, with every matter judged by it, and they held that by restoring reason or by education, all the "things going astray" could be overcome. The slogans put forward by the humanists, such as "humanity," "justice," "liberty," "equality," and "fraternity," cannot describe history scientifically. Engels said: These are "words falling more or less into the category of morality," and "these words sound quite nice, but they /can prove nothing/ in terms of history and politics."¹

(Note) Originally human nature was an abstract concept, that is, the common nature of mankind, and a parallel can be drawn between the concept of human nature and theological nature, bestial nature, non-human nature, and anti-human nature. However, judging from a historical point of view, human nature is also concrete, having multifarious forms of evolution and differentiation because of different living environments, culture, education, and psychological characteristics, and because of the difference in periods of historical development and in specific social groups. Even though we cannot deny there is common nature of man, it is insufficient to attempt to use this common nature (no matter how rich its interpretations may be) to explain the historical development of the human society. The proposition of abstract human nature referred to here and in the following passages denotes a proposition which does not understand or acknowledge the historical forms of evolution and differentiation, but only acknowledges a so-called human nature with an eternal standard common to all mankind. There is an unscientific abstract, which is entirely different from human nature as an abstraction of a scientific concept. As for anthropology, sociology (including folklore), psychology, pedagogy and other concrete scientific disciplines as well as culture and art, it is naturally necessary to give expression to historical and realistic human beings and human nature from each particular angle. Historical materialism cannot replace these studies and expressions, and of course they should not be classified and condemned as the abstract theory of human beings in the category of historical idealism.

Utopian socialism in the 19th century made slashing criticism of capitalism, and proposed various plans for reforming society and propositions on rational society in the future. However, just like the capitalist humanists, the utopian socialists employed abstract human nature and the essential quality of man to interpret history, devise their schemes of reform, and construct their rational society. At the end of last century, the famous Russian Marxist Plekhanov said appropriately: "In the first half of this century, the innumerable utopian schemes were but perfectly construed legislative attempts with /human nature/ as the highest standard."² The utopian socialists held that the dark side and crimes of capitalism were only things gone astray in terms of human nature or human reason; to eliminate these dark sides and crimes was the task of the thinking reason. They held socialism was the expression of reason, truth, and justice, and once it was discovered, it would be able to utilize its own strength to create a new world. Because they talked of human nature and the essential quality of man away from concrete historical conditions and from specific social relationships, and because they regarded them as the decisive forces that determined the development of human society's history, they still remained idealists in terms of the conception of history. When considering how to realize their ideas, they were bound to neglect the realistic basis of the social history, which deviated from the practical struggles of the already emerged proletariat and other working people, and they had to pin their hopes on abstract conceptions, the vague idea of all mankind, and the humanist doctrine of calling on human nature and improving it and often placed their hopes on a small number of outstanding rulers. This kind of socialist doctrine could only result in vain dreams. Although utopian socialism has put forward many brilliant ideas, including the communist ideology of from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs, and has become one of the three great sources for Marxism which enables it to occupy an indelible position in the history of human ideological progress, yet, when used as an ideological weapon in revolutionary struggles, it can only be a visionary weapon. Naturally, it is impossible to use a visionary weapon to fulfill a realistic task of reforming society and pushing history forward. Utopian socialism has never found a practical path for the emancipation of mankind, nor has it changed the course of development of the capitalist world--is this not a fact borne out by history?

In order to cast off the visionary weapon and to grasp the realistic weapon, it is necessary to break completely with the abstract theory of human nature and the idealistic concept of history advocated by the utopian socialists. This breaking away is a key factor for socialism to develop from a utopian doctrine to a scientific doctrine. Just as Lenin pointed out: "The doctrine of socialism prevails precisely at a time when it has cast off the talk of social conditions suited to the human nature, and is engaged in analyzing the modern social relationship in a materialist way and proving the certainty of the existence of the present system of exploitation."³

In contrast to historical idealism, in explaining history, historical materialism does not take as its point of departure such abstract concepts as man, human nature, and the essence of man, but the concrete social and

material living conditions. In "The German Ideology," Marx and Engels said: "We first must define that the first prerequisite for the existence of mankind, or the first prerequisite for history in every sense is that in order to 'create history,' man must be able to live. In order to live, it is necessary to have clothing, food, shelter, and other things. Therefore, the first historical activity is the production of the means to satisfy these needs, that is, the production of material life itself. It is also a kind of historical activity man must carry out daily and hourly in order to merely make him able to live (either now or several thousand years ago), and a basic condition for history in every sense."⁴ All previous thinkers had ignored this basic and simple fact when they explained history. Marx grasped this basic fact and its full meaning. Starting from it, he developed and formulated the complete theory of historical materialism on the productive forces and production relations of the human society, the economic basis and superstructure, social existence and social ideology, class and class struggle, state and revolution, and the emancipation of the proletariat and mankind. Historical materialism points out that the development of productive relations, and the class struggle reflecting this contradiction in a class society, are motive forces for the development of history.

In his "Preface to 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,'" Marx made the following brilliant expositions on the basic ideas of historical materialism: "In the social production of his existence, man enters into definite, necessary relations, which are independent of their will, namely, relations of production corresponding to a determinate development stage of their material forces of production. The totality of these production relations constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which there arises a legal and political superstructure and to which there correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life-process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, it is their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or, merely a legal expression for the same thing, with the property relations within the framework of which they have hitherto operated. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into restraints. At that point, an era of social revolution begins. With the change in the economic foundation the whole immense superstructure is either more slowly or more rapidly transformed."⁵

Since the proletariat and the masses of people have found a scientific answer to the question concerning the motive force for the progress of human society, they have been carrying out the revolutionary struggle to reform society and to push history forward under scientific guidance, and they have achieved great victories and ushered in a new era in the development of human society--the socialist era, in which the broad masses of working people are emancipated. Is this not also fully proven by history?

Some comrades criticized historical materialism for merely emphasizing "things to the neglect of 'man,' or 'seeing things but not people.'" This

is entirely groundless (except, of course, for some badly compiled textbooks). Historical materialism does not abandon man in its complete theory. On the contrary, it is the very theory which has scientifically explained human history, explained how men have created history, and pointed out a scientific road for all men to acquire an all-round and free development, the road for the emancipation of mankind. When historical materialism emphasizes "things," it is exactly emphasizing man's material productive activity in order to satisfy their primary needs, the productive forces which are the results of the interaction between man and materials or the natural world, and the material production relations between man and man, which are results of man's materialism. Historical materialism holds that history is created by man. However, unlike historical idealism, it has realized that history must be created by man primarily through his material productive activities and social struggles on this basis (in a class society, chiefly the class struggle). Therefore, in the final analysis, the people who are engaged in material production are the main force in creating history. Historical materialism has only abandoned such abstract concepts as man, human nature, and the essence of man, which historical idealism and humanism advocate, and relate all this to certain social relations (mainly production relations) for observation, because only thus can the problem concerning man in society be correctly explained and solved. When making a comparison between Marxist economics and bourgeois economics, Lenin said: "Where the bourgeois economists saw a relation between things (the exchange of one commodity for another) Marx revealed a /relation between men/." ⁶ Therefore, the criticism of Marxism for "seeing things but not people" is entirely groundless and unacceptable. The basic methodology and principle of historical materialism in observing and solving the problem of man is to proceed from certain social relations to explain man, human nature, and the essence of man, and not vice versa: to proceed from the abstract concepts of man, human nature, and the essence of man to explain society. This is a fundamental difference between Marxist historical materialism and bourgeois humanism and historical idealism. It is also a fundamental difference in our present debate.

"The point of departure of Marxism is man"--this is a typical proposition that confuses Marxism with bourgeois humanism and confuses historical materialism with historical idealism. The purpose of analyzing men's material productive activities and the material production relations between man and man by Marxist historical materialism and taking it as the point of departure is to understand man in a concrete manner. Digressing from man's material productive activities and man's social relations, we can only talk about abstract man. And taking abstract man as the point of departure is absolutely not a practice of Marxism. The reason Marx was able to found Marxism was that he was able to surpass the historical philosophy of bourgeois humanism, which took abstract man as the point of departure, and find a new point of departure. In his "On Feuerbach's Program" written in 1845, which was called by Engels the first document containing the sprouting of talent and a new world outlook, Marx pointed out: "The essence of man is not something abstract, inherited by man individually, but in reality, a summation of all social relations." ⁷ Human society and men's social relations (primarily the production relations) constituted the new point of

departure of Marxism. Proceeding from the analysis of social relations, Marx criticized humanism and historical idealism with its history of several hundred years and development in various forms which took abstract man and human nature as the point of departure. This included Feuerbach's humanism and his viewpoint about the alienation of the essence of man, which had once deeply affected Marx himself. Just as Marx said: "It was in fact to settle accounts with our former philosophical consciences."⁸ At the same time and for the same reason, Marx also drew a clear line of demarcation between himself and various schools of thought in the socialist movement at that time, which still held the humanist historical viewpoint. For example, Marx pointed out that "the true socialists" of the German petite bourgeoisie had forgotten that "man's 'inherent nature,' or man's 'consciousness' toward this nature, 'that is,' his 'rational knowledge,' has always been the products of history." Man has "quietly imposed on every person the idea about man's essence and changed various socialist stages into various philosophic concepts about man's essence."⁹ The change of a point of departure and the discovery of a new point of departure symbolize a fundamental and epoch-making change in the ideological history of mankind and the beginning of a great discovery. It was only after there was a new point of departure that the materialist conception of history was then able to emerge, the "political economy for the working class to be established, and the theory of scientific socialism to be put forth." In other words, Marxism was then able to be founded. If the old point of departure was upheld all the time, whatever form it might take, it would be impossible to shake off the yoke of the bourgeois humanist conception of history and there would be no Marxism.

However, some comrades, on the one hand, have regarded the proposition of "man being the point of departure of Marxism" as an extremely important and new proposition for propaganda, but on the other hand, they have done their utmost to confuse the principled differences between the old practice of taking "man" as the point of departure and the new practice of taking human society and man's social relations as the point of departure, trying to interpret the two as almost the same thing. Some comrades said that the "man" in this proposition is not abstract man but the "man in reality" and "man engaging in real activity" mentioned by Marx. It seems that with this statement or other similar statements, they can prove they have separated themselves from abstract humanism and have adhered to Marxism. However, such a simple statement cannot change the essence of their viewpoints, and unavoidably, it contains a contradiction in logic, that is, in order to explain that man is "engaging in real activity" and is "in reality," it is necessary to explain the concrete social relations in which man carries out his activity, rather than regarding man, in a general sense, as without division and differences. It is necessary to proceed from concrete social relations rather than proceeding from "man." Since it has abandoned concrete social relations and concrete social development situations in talking about "man," and proceeded from this to talk about "human nature," "the essence of man," "the value of man," "man's dignity," "man's freedom," "man's needs," "man's natural desires," and so forth, then this proposition which takes man as its point of departure and end result can only be a proposition about abstract humanism, or in reality, bourgeois humanism.

Since Marx found a new starting point for his historical viewpoint, he never talked about man in an abstract and general sense in the study of human history. The men he mentioned were men bearing different social relations, that is, they personified different social relations. In his "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1857-1858 draft)" and "Manuscripts of Economics (1861-1863)," Marx criticized Proudhon twice and refuted the argument saying, "Judging from the angle of society, slaves and citizens do not exist, both are men." Marx pointed out: "Just on the contrary, they are men only when they are /outside/ the society. Whether one is slave or citizen, this is a form of existence of the person A or B in a certain society."¹⁰ While studying the capitalist society, Marx also never discussed problems from such an angle holding that "both" the capitalists and workers "were men." Of course, both capitalists and workers are people with a common human character. However, in essence it is of no significance to emphasize and abstract this common character in recognizing capitalists and workers or the relations between them. What is of essential significance is that both the capitalists and wage laborers, who are the main people concerned with regard to the capitalist production, "are the people reflecting capital and wage labor, that is, the personification of capital and labor, the nature of a certain society imposed on individuals by the process of production, and the products of these specific social production relations."¹¹ It would be impossible to point out that the destruction of capitalism and the rise of socialism are inevitable trends of history and put forth historical missions for the proletariat if not proceeding from this analysis of man's real social relations, but instead from the general sense of "man" and "man's common character."

The comrades who hold that "man is the point of departure of Marxism" have quoted many passages from Marx to prove their proposition. They have, however, ignored a basic fact, that is, Marx and Engels gave a very clear answer long ago to the question concerning the starting point of their new world outlook and historical concept.

When expounding their materialist conception of history in "The German Ideology," Marx and Engels said: "This historical concept is to proceed directly from material production in life to observe and study the process of production in reality and to understand the form of contacts relating to the mode of production thus emerged; that is, civilian society at various stages, as the basis of all of history.... At the same time, proceeding from civilian society, to expound various theoretical products and ideological forms, such as religion, philosophy, morality, and so forth, and on this basis, trace back the process of their emergence."¹²

Engels pointed out in his "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific": "The material concept of history starts from the principle that production and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of every social order; that in every society that has appeared in history, the distribution of wealth and, with it, the division of society into classes or estates, are dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. Accordingly, the ultimate causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in man's mind, and

not in their growing insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the /philosophy/ but in the /economics/ of each particular epoch."¹³

In his "On A. Wagner's 'Textbook for Political Economy'" written in 1879-1880, Marx refuted the argument of this German popular economist and platform socialist, who advocated determining the value of commodity according to the needs of abstract men. Marx pointed out: "'/Man/?' If what is referred to here is one in the category of 'general man,' then he cannot have 'any' needs at all, if he is one standing in isolation before nature, then he must be regarded as an unsocial animal; if he is one living in any form of society...then the starting point should be that he must possess a certain nature of mankind in society, that is, a certain nature of the society in which he is living, because in that society, production, or /the process of his getting the means of subsistence/, he already possesses various social nature." Contrary to the method of starting from man, Marx declared that his method of analysis "does not start from /man/, but from a certain socioeconomic period."¹⁴

In whom should we believe? Should we believe in Marx and Engels or those comrades who advocate "man is the starting point of Marxism"?

If one disregards explicit ideas of Marx and Engels as Marxists, but repeatedly quotes some humanist ideas which appeared in Marx' early works when he had yet thoroughly eliminated Feuerbach's influence, such as "the essence of man is man himself," "man himself is the supreme nature of man," and "communism is realistic humanism," and if one quotes expositions in Marx' later mature works, but disregards their spiritual nature and the contradictions between them and the argument of those who quoted them, how can one explain problems clearly? As mentioned above, the reason why Marxism can become Marxism lies first in its new starting point and the new scientific system based on it. It is not allowed to be vague about, or avoid this fundamental problem. When raising the argument that "man is the starting point of Marxism," one departs from the basic ideas of Marxism, abandons the things by which Marxism becomes Marxism, and denies the essence through which Marxism is distinguished from non-Marxism. Thus, the revolutionary transformation completed by Marxism in the conception of history is in fact denied.

The historical formula of "human-inhuman-human," which summarizes the history of man as a history of alienation and restoration of human nature, is a typical idealistic concept of history advocated by humanism. Different humanist theories explain human nature in a different way and some of them do not use the concept of alienation of human nature. But their historical formulas are similar, such as "rationality-confusion-rationality" or "fair-unfair-fair." According to such formulas, there exists abstract, instinct, perfect and genuine human nature or human essence. When human society develops to a certain stage, this human nature and human essence will experience alienation and human will become non-human (or false human); and in the future developing stage of human society, the original human nature or human essence will be restored and the non-human (or false human)

will be restored to genuine human. No wonder modern Western theologians liken this historical formula of metaphysics to "paradise-paradise lost-paradise regained," a historical formula of theology, and treat it as Marxism, attempting to lump together religion, humanism, and Marxism. This is making fun of Marxism.

Marxism believes that the history of mankind is first the history of the means of production. Along with the development of the means of production, man himself is developing. Although there have been twists and turns in history, the general trend is forward and progressive. The only yardstick for measuring the progress of history is the development of production and its means, and the corresponding social, political, cultural, scientific, and educational development, but not the abstract human nature and human essence. There is no reason to regard the fantasy of remote antiquity as a paradise. How can the development from primitive society to slave society be seen as a retrogression of human nature? This was a great progress in human society and a result of rapid development in productive forces, which indicated that man had escaped the stage of barbarism and lack of civilization, entered the gate of civilization, and begun the history of his civilization. Likewise, the development from society to feudal society and to capitalist society also marked rapid progress in productive forces and the social relations of man, although this progress was made under the situation of class antagonism and accompanied by crimes, disasters, and degeneration. Marx and Engels criticized the crimes of capitalist society most thoroughly, but they, in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" explicitly pointed out: "Capitalists once played a very revolutionary role in history."¹⁵ As for the replacement of capitalism by communism, it is a great progress in productive forces and the social relations of man, not a so-called restoration of abstract and instinctive human nature. Marx and Engels called human history before communist society "the pre-history period of man," in order to explain that people can consciously create their own history only under communism. This did not mean that they wanted to treat the entire history of civilization in the social development of man before communist society as "non-human" history and deny it. On the contrary, Marxism holds that without the development of material and spiritual civilization of man in previous times, it would have been impossible to have communism.

In short, humanism as a world outlook and concept of history is diametrically opposed to Marxist historical materialism. Some comrades advocating a humanist world outlook and concept of history attempt to deny the antagonism between the two and to lump together two different world outlooks and concepts of history. They either classify Marxism as humanism and a faction of the humanist world outlook and concept of history (though it is praised as the "genuine, supreme" and "most scientific" humanist faction), or bring humanism as a world outlook and concept of history into Marxism, to become a part of the Marxist world outlook and concept of history. (It has even been held that the former is the core, essence, starting point, and end result of the latter.) In fact, the two methods have the same purpose, that is, to humanize Marxism. They hold that Marxism neglects man and it is necessary to use humanism to "re-explain" Marxism and use abstract human nature and human value to "establish" the

argument that "man is the starting point of Marxism," and to "supplement," "revise," or "develop" Marxism. They also hold that only the Marxism "re-explained" by humanism is genuine and perfect Marxism; otherwise, it is distorted and imperfect Marxism. Such a view cannot be accepted by Marxists. As a world outlook and concept of history, Marxism and humanism, historical materialism and historical idealism, absolutely cannot be mixed, admitted, comprehended and attributed to each other. They cannot be attributed to each other completely or partially. Humanism cannot explain, supplement, revise, and develop Marxism; on the contrary, only Marxism can explain the historical roots and historical role of humanism, point out the historical limitations of humanism, and end the era in the history of the development of the concept of the history of man which humanism represented. Marxist historical materialism represents a new era in the development of the concept of the history of man. Historical materialism holds that it is wrong to talk about man, human nature, and human essence by departing from concrete social relations, and it is wrong to seek the settlement of the problems of man by departing from the development of social productive forces and the transformation of social relations. It refuses such abstract ideas as the "natural instincts of man," but analyzes realistic social relations so as to seek a concrete road for the thorough emancipation of the proletariat and the whole of mankind. All practical conclusions drawn from it are not humanist preachings and idle dreams of various rational societies or "mysterious" restoration of abstract human nature, but a revolutionary social transformation conducted by the proletariat and the laboring people according to the law of social development. In this way, Marxism has provided a scientific answer for resolving the problem of man, which people with lofty ideals of the past eras had failed to obtain. The development from utopian socialism to scientific socialism, which cannot dispense with man, has provided a realistic revolutionary road for fighting for the interests of most people. Only through the emancipation of the proletariat is it possible to achieve the emancipation of the whole of mankind. This is a scientific conclusion. Along with the development of history, Marxism, of course (including historical materialism), needs to be further developed, and is actually developing. But the ideas of many comrades who are now indiscriminately giving publicity to humanism precisely contradict the requirement of the development of science. They serve the purpose of pushing back our materialist concept of history to an idealist one and our scientific socialist theory to a utopian one.

2. What Kind of Ideology Should Be Relied Upon To Guide Our Socialist Society To Advance Continuously?

Some comrades may ask: Is the argument "man is the starting point of Marxism" correct in capitalist society or in a society with other systems of exploitation? We are now building socialist society; is it necessary to discuss the argument? This amounts to asking: Is Marxist historical materialism still efficacious in socialist society? Let us make an inspection.

After the establishment of a socialist system, private ownership of the means of production has basically been eliminated. Class struggle is no

longer the main social contradiction, and socialist society is facing new conditions and new tasks. Undoubtedly, all activities under a socialist system serve the laboring people and their interests. (Note) But, how shall socialism achieve all these? How should we treat the development of socialist society? What kind of ideology should be relied upon to guide our socialist society to advance continuously? In fact, some comrades advocating the humanist world outlook and concept of history hold that historical materialism was only applicable in revolution and in the pre-revolution period and is inapplicable at present and should be replaced by humanism. They have said: Socialism is to achieve "man's own purpose"; "man himself is the supreme purpose of man"; and socialism is to achieve "human value"; and "human value lies in man himself." They also said: "Human value and the degree of emancipation of man are a comprehensive indicator to examine the superiority of socialism"; and "we must fight strenuously for the elimination of alienation and the upgrading of human value." It seems that they believe that the reason why socialism has not yet been as perfect as expected lies in the lack of these ideas and if these ideas become popular in the whole society, it is possible to guarantee the realization of the most perfect state. Are these ideas correct and can they guide us to march forward?

Just as in the struggle to fight for the socialist system, after the establishment of the new system, continuous progress of socialist society still depends on the guidance of the science of historical materialism and the opposition of various idle dreams of historical idealism. This is not because that class division has not yet been thoroughly eliminated at the present stage of socialist development in our country--that capitalist system still exists in the world, and that class struggle will exist in our country within a certain scope--but because historical materialism is not only a science which explains the history of class society, but also a science which explains the history of the whole human society. The truth of historical materialism as the motivating force of the progress of society not only has been proved by the history of the development of man, but also is a powerful weapon for promoting our country's socialist construction at present and in the future. Just as with previous social and historical development of man, the development of socialist society cannot depart from

(Note) According to stipulations in the constitution, all citizens have the right and obligation to engage in labor. In theory, it is all right to change "the laboring people" into "man" here. In practice, however, people have noticed that even in socialist society, in its elementary stage, in particular, there are all kinds of people, despite the fact that the vast majority of them are kind and law-abiding laborers. The society has done its utmost to serve all people in many aspects, such as providing them with various consumption goods, educational channels, and job opportunities, but not all of them serve the society. Worse, there are counterrevolutionaries of one kind or another and sabotaging elements who engage in such criminal activities as corruption, stealing, speculation and profiteering, fraud, robberies, and murders. Therefore, we cannot think that a simple change of wording is something significant.

the development of social productive forces and the contradictions between productive forces and the means of production, and between economic base and superstructure under certain conditions and should march forward on the basis of scientifically understanding and correctly resolving these contradictions. People as masters of socialist society have obtained much more freedom than they had before revolution. But people's freedom can be achieved only after the cognition of necessity and in the process of transforming the world on the basis of that cognition. Just like all previous ones, the effectiveness of this objective law is independent of man's will and will not be changed due to changes of social systems. The establishment of socialist society has created many more possibilities and bright prospects for developing social productive forces and meeting the needs of the broad masses in material and cultural life. But socialism is a science, not a magic power, and cannot meet various needs of the broad masses all at once. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality needs hard work."¹⁶ Whether in material or spiritual fields, we must proceed from reality, follow the law of things, and rely on people's efforts to march forward step by step on the basis of reality. The new production relations and the whole social and political system which we have established and are continuously perfecting make it possible for us to develop more rapidly than in old society. But our backward economic and cultural basis was formed in a protracted period of history, which we should not and cannot ignore and deny. "People create their own history. They create it not at their own will and not under conditions selected by themselves, but under established conditions which are directly met and inherited from the past."¹⁷ Always bearing in mind these remarks of Marx will help us remain sober-minded.

To concentrate our efforts on developing social productive force is the objective requirement of the law of historical development in the socialist period of our country as revealed by the science of historical materialism. This is especially urgent in a country like ours which is comparatively backward economically; and this has naturally become the first and foremost wish of the people of the whole country. The people know that only when they exert their efforts to engage in socialist modernizations, and to develop social productive force as fast as possible in a down-to-earth manner, will it be possible to gradually meet the needs of the people in food, clothing, housing, study, research, labor, creation, social contacts, travel, amusement, rest, and so on. The various items of our work, the activities in our various realms of the superstructure and ideology, and the various activities in our reform and readjustment of the production relations should all center around and serve the aim of a determinative significance to promote the development of social productive force. Since the initial stage of the founding of the PRC, our party and state have attached great importance to economic construction, making great efforts to develop the productive force. At one time, we committed the errors of being overanxious for quick results, and of exaggerating the role of the subjective will; and we also committed the errors of neglecting the development of productive force (opposing the so-called "theory that social development results only from productive force") and the practice of egalitarianism.

Regarding their guiding ideas, all those errors took place because of the deviation from the science of historical materialism and the science of economics and natural sciences. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has summed up past experiences and lessons, striving to faithfully follow the laws of various sciences, and has thereupon correctly determined that the work focus of the whole party and country should resolutely be shifted to socialist modernized economic construction; and to adapt to this strategic transfer, a series of correct policies and measures have been determined and implemented, which have begun to achieve remarkable results which are universally acknowledged. Of course, these achievements are still very far from the magnificent aim of building a modernized socialist power of a high level of culture and democracy which was put forth by the party at the 12th CPC National Congress, and shortcomings and errors in our work have not been avoided (we should, of course, do our best to avoid them; however, even with the help of computers, they are not completely avoidable; perhaps, here is one of the differences of human nature from the so-called "deity"). If we do not concretely and historically analyze the economic and cultural conditions in realities, and fail to start from these conditions in accordance with the objective law, to carry on various constructions in a down-to-earth manner, to solve various practical problems in existence, and to make active and practical suggestions to solve these problems, then any abstract discussions on "the purpose of man," "human value," and "human dignity" cannot make us take one step forward in realizing this purpose, value, and dignity, no matter how sincere those participating in the discussions are, or how good their motives are. Just as Marx said: The reliance on abstract discussions on the emancipation of "mankind" cannot make the "emancipation" of "mankind" take one step forward; only by using a realistic means in a realistic world will it be able to realize genuine emancipation; "'emancipation' is a historical activity, but not an ideological activity, 'emancipation' is brought about because of history, helped by the conditions of industry, commerce, agriculture, and social relations."¹⁸

Thus, we can see that utopian socialism existed not only in the past, but also may exist under the socialist conditions. Once people depart from the science of historical materialism and from the practice of socialist construction and indulge themselves in discussing humanism in abstract terms, they will easily fall into a utopian socialism of this or that description. Unlike the utopian socialism which previously played a progressive role in history, the present utopian idea, marked by historical idealism, will play only a negative role. It creates the illusion that man's purposes and demands could and should be completely and unconditionally satisfied without the need to conduct the prolonged and painstaking building of material and spiritual civilization. When these demands cannot be completely satisfied due to various limitations under the socialist system, this utopian idea will influence some people who lack the basic knowledge of Marxism and will drive them to distrust the socialist practice, thus disturbing the normal process of socialist construction. A historical materialist should understand that demands of the people develop according to historical conditions. One of our scientific jobs that we must actively promote is to study, in a concrete way, the people's demands, the development of these demands, and

the way to improve and develop our work in all fields to satisfy them. (We should admit that this job has not drawn sufficient attention from the whole party.) It is insignificant to discuss these matters in abstract terms, and at any time, it is impossible to completely satisfy all demands.

As far as the "value of man" is concerned, it is a catchword at present and a terribly confusing concept. No matter what implications people may give this term, historical materialism holds that the "value of man" cannot be discussed in an abstract and isolated way without being linked to specific conditions of social development, to man's labor in society, and to an individual's relations with people, with his collective and class, and with society. Before Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday met on the desert island, there was no value and dignity of man. Only after they discovered each other could these matters appear between them. There has never been any abstract "value of man" in history. People in different historical periods, of different social classes, and from different backgrounds have different values. In fact, the abstract concept of "man's value" came into being only alongside the capitalist form of commodity exchanges. The values of bourgeois thinkers are generally based on individualism, which takes each individual as the center of the world and which reflects the bourgeoisie's mentality of hankering after individual interests (this is given expression by the so-called "commodity fetishism" and "money worship"). Bourgeois thinkers have also alleged that "the value of man lies in the man himself." It seems that each person has an equal value innate in that person. The reality of the capitalist private ownership system and exploiting system is precisely an irony of this hypocritical slogan. The proletarian and socialist outlook on "man's value" is based on collectivism. Marx and Engels said in their work "The German Ideology": "Only inside a collective can an individual acquire the means to develop his ability in a comprehensive way. That is to say, individual freedom can be realized only through a collective."¹⁹ Of course, there would not be any collective or society if there were no individuals; however, no individual can continue to exist if he is separated from the collective or society. (Robinson Crusoe on the desert island could continue to live for a certain period because he acquired from mankind the ability to use and make tools and depended on some tools left with him by society.) Left alone, can he have any value and freedom if he is not living in a collective or society?

The relationship between society and individuals is just like that between the roots of a tree and the leaves. A tree cannot exist without leaves, still less can it do without roots; and only when its roots grow deep can its leaves become luxuriant. It is precisely based on this simple truth that socialism first stresses the value of the people. The value of an individual can be realized only through the value of the people. Socialism enables the whole and each member of the working public to acquire an unprecedented social status (or social values) and creates the conditions for them to fully realize their values in both material and cultural lives, because socialism establishes the public ownership system of the means of production and abolishes the exploitation system.

In socialist society, the relationship between individuals and society includes two points with regard to man's value. Society gives respect and satisfaction to individuals; and individuals fulfill their duties and make contributions to society. Regarding society's contributions to individuals, under the socialist conditions, the limitations of the realization of higher values of man are no longer a matter of the fundamental unreasonableness of the social system. They are mainly caused by the insufficient development of the economy and the culture, some imperfect points of regulations and structures, and some shortcomings and mistakes in our work.

For example, although our party and government have made great efforts to improve the people's material and cultural lives and improve the work of the party and government and have achieved definite results, the livelihood of many people in our country remains on a low level. Housing in urban areas is still strained; education and employment for some young people have not been properly solved; bureaucracy and bad practices, such as seeking private interests by making use of power, still exist in some party and government institutions; evildoers of all kinds also exist in society; such backward phenomena as corruption, theft, waste, damaging the ecological balance, sex discrimination, mistreating women and children, marriage at an early age and excessive births, superstitions, poor sanitation, and incivility have not been eliminated.

Our party and government are mobilizing the people to vigorously develop the economy and culture, to enhance political consciousness, and to struggle against various backward and negative phenomena. All people are required to work with one heart and one mind under the leadership of the party and government for the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. This includes developing production in a planned way, building more houses, running schools better, developing medical and health services, creating more jobs, conducting communist ideological and moral education, rectifying the party work style, cracking down on crimes, and promoting a fundamental turn for the better in the standards of public conduct. Departing from specific practices in these fields, the slogan of respecting "man's value" will only encourage all kinds of unrealistic demands for individual well-being and freedom. It will create a false impression that once the socialist system is established, all personal demands would have been guaranteed and satisfied; otherwise, the socialist system would prove "inhumane." How can the advocacy of "man's value" help solve any actual problem apart from encouraging egoism and demoralizing the people?

It must be emphatically pointed out that we should not discuss "man's value" merely from the angle of society's contributions to individuals. If society must provide conditions for each of its members to realize the "value of man," it first must have these conditions. Therefore, when assessing the value of a person, we not only should see whether his existence and needs have been recognized and satisfied by society and other people, but more importantly, should also see whether he has fulfilled his duties to and made due contributions to society and other people. The socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" and the communist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each

according to his needs" both define the relationship between individuals and society by combining the two aspects of the issue, and place the point of serving society and other people according to each's ability in the primary position. "Man's value," as Marxism sees it, should reflect this relationship from an ethical point of view; therefore, according to the communist world outlook and outlook on life, a person's value should first be realized through his contributions to the communist cause and the emancipation of the proletariat and mankind. Now, in our country, this should first be reflected in making contributions to the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. We communists are materialists, not ascetic monks. We acknowledge and attach importance to personal needs and well-being. Precisely for this reason, we emphasize individuals' contributions to society, because their well-being is secure only after they make their due contributions to society. Only when all individuals make this contribution can society satisfy each individual's need for personal well-being after deducting a required portion from all contributions. Well-being cannot be separated from work, as rights cannot be separated from duties, and freedom from discipline. All this is evident. In fact, not only Marxists take this approach, but many progressive figures in history also did likewise and placed more stress on individuals' contributions to society when dealing with "man's value." For example, Fan Zhongyan of the Song Dynasty said: "He will worry long before the rest of the world begins to worry, and will rejoice only after the rest of the world has rejoiced."²⁰ This remark also implies what we have mentioned above. Einstein, the famous, upright, and great scientist, put it more explicitly: "A person's value should be determined by what he has contributed rather than what he has acquired." "A person's value in society first rests on the role of his feelings, thinking, and action in increasing benefits to mankind."²¹ However, some of our comrades even disregard this truth that Einstein, although not a Marxist, could understand this so deeply and that this should be common sense for a socialist society. They insist on approaching the issue of man's value from the angle of individual demands. This is quite puzzling. They think that what they have advocated is a panacea aimed at the previous "leftist" mistakes. It is true that we must correct the previous "leftist" mistakes of neglecting people's well-being. Our party and government have made great efforts in this regard. However, raising the issue of "man's value" in such an abstract and one-sided way will only increase the difficulties in solving the problems rather than help to find a solution.

The proposition that "man is the goal," was originally a slogan in Kant's ethical theory in the 18th century, and was directed at the fact that mankind in society then was not treated as the object of services but simply as a means. In history, when the exploiting classes were exploiting and oppressing the working people, they always treated the latter merely as a means. As a matter of course, socialism will completely change and terminate this state of affairs permanently. However, some of our comrades emphasize that "man is the goal rather than a means," and take this slogan as a profound philosophical theory. In doing so, they have gone astray.

When dealing with the issue of "man being the goal," like dealing with the issue of "man's value," socialism first emphasizes that the people are the

goal and that only after the principle of "the people as goal" is ensured can each individual achieve his own end. By uprooting the exploitation system, socialism enables the people to have the right to be masters of the country. Does this mean that mankind will no longer act as a means and will only serve as the goal? No. The viewpoint that sets the goal absolutely against the means and separates these two aspects is completely in violation of materialist dialectics. All work in socialist society serves the interests of the public as a whole and each member of the public. In this sense, man is the goal. However, man's interests cannot be achieved automatically. No matter how extensively machines and various tools are utilized, in the final analysis, man's labor remains an indispensable factor. That is to say, to achieve the purpose of "taking man as the goal," man must still act as a means.

Of course, this is absolutely different from the way in which the exploiting classes in history took human beings as a means. First, in socialist society, the goal and the means are unified and embodied by all people; while under the exploitation systems, the goal and the means separately belonged to the exploiters and the exploited people. Second, because of the uniformity of the goal and the means in socialist society, a person is no longer forced to act as a means serving another person's end, but can now voluntarily serve as a means for the people (which includes himself and other people). At least Communist Party members and progressive figures among the people will first act in this way voluntarily.

Acting as a means cannot determine whether this alone will damage a person's dignity and honor. Apart from whether a person acts as a means on a voluntary basis, we must take into account for what purpose he does so. We advocate serving the people wholeheartedly or devoting one's work to the well-being of most people, and devoting one's energy and even life to the people and the motherland. In this sense, a person will have his dignity and honor by serving as a means. Communists in China always regard themselves as a means for fulfilling the historical mission of the working class and the masses and regard this function as their highest honor. The party also calls on and organizes the people to struggle for their own purposes and interests, that is, to serve as a means for themselves.

Acting as a means does not necessarily mean that one must suffer and sacrifice. In essence, man's basic practice or his labor, after exploitation is eliminated, will become more and more a need in his life, as well as a means of life. Those advanced elements of mankind have unified the goal and the means through their activities even under the exploitative system. For example, Marx struggled for the interests of the working class throughout his lifetime under harsh living conditions and made great contributions to the cause of human emancipation and the scientific cause. Didn't he feel satisfied and happy in his hard work? Lu Xun was willing to serve as an honest ox for the people in the dark society. Did he not rejoice over this? The Chinese Red Army accomplished the Long March by overcoming untold hardship and difficulties and making great sacrifices. At that time, did they not cherish the feelings Comrade Mao Zedong described in his famous verse-- "Minshan's thousand li of snow joyously crossed, the three armies march on,

each face glowing"? All of our faithful communists, whether before or after the success of the revolution, always found pleasure in working for the interests of the people and were sad if they could not do so.

The principle of socialism is to uphold the unities of the goal and the means, of social and individual interests, of well-being and work, of rights and duties, and of freedom and discipline. Propagating the slogan that "man is the goal" and advocating the so-called "self-formation," "self-expression," and "self-satisfaction" by departing from the people and the community's needs will inevitably lead to extreme egoism, which is completely incompatible with socialism. Even in this case, a person can only act as a means for his common end.

In any case, we should not deal with the concepts of man's value, the goal, and freedom in an abstract way, separate them from specific historical conditions, and regard them as something detached from historical development. We should not proceed from some concepts and set unrealistic demands on socialism which remains at a given stage. It is incorrect to complain that "man's value" has been belittled and "man being the goal" has been neglected or that "man is not treated as a man" once one's personal wishes cannot be satisfied; nor is it correct to complain that "man is taken as a means" and "man is alienated" just because one is required to serve the interests of the state and the people. This viewpoint and method for observing matters are contrary to the historical materialism of Marxism and to the basic principles of a socialist society.

The present level of productive forces in our country is still low, and many problems have not been satisfactorily settled. However, our cause is unceasingly progressing day after day, and the superiority of the socialist system is playing a greater and greater role. As in the years of the revolution, people are required to make down-to-earth efforts, to struggle hard, and even to make necessary sacrifices. This is true in defending the security of the Guangxi and Yunnan border areas, in building highways and railroads in Xinjiang, Qinghai, and Xizang, in resisting floods, and in fighting against criminal offenders. Even in order to make the water of the Luan He available to the people in Tianjin city, 17 PLA men and 4 civilian workers sacrificed their precious lives. In order to rescue some wounded tourists in the Hua Shan, the heroic collective of students from the No 4 Army Medical College displayed the lofty spirit of risking their lives to rescue others. How can our contemporary young people not be moved by and feel proud of their bravery and dedicated spirit? Didn't they struggle and make sacrifices precisely for the purpose of safeguarding and increasing the interests of the people? Some preachers of humanism have even set the value of individuals against the development of the cause of socialist construction, and have even alleged that "the human world continues to depreciate while the material world (including authority) continues to appreciate." They copy the words used by Marx when he criticized capitalism to criticize the socialist system. According to them, it seems that our great cause of the four modernizations is not in the interests of the masses but is harmful to their interests. Where will this kind of propaganda lead people? Should we not give serious thought to this question?

3. Why Should We Publicize and Implement Socialist Humanism?

We oppose the preaching of humanism in an abstract way and oppose the idealist concept of history based on humanism; however, we do not oppose humanism of all descriptions in an indiscriminate way. We urge that humanism be concretely analyzed with a Marxist viewpoint, that bourgeois humanism be criticized, and that we give publicity to and implement socialist humanism.

It has been stated above that humanism has two implications. Humanism of world and historical outlook is idealistic and fails to give a scientific explanation of the history of human society. As to the specific role of humanism in history and in practical life, however, it is necessary to make a concrete analysis. Although the trend of humanism, which arose during the Renaissance, always discussed man, human nature, and the intrinsic quality of man in abstract terms, it invariably emerged in the form of universality for all humanity. However, viewed from its actual historical content, it was a reflection of the demands of capitalist development in people's minds. It was a trend of thought of the rising bourgeoisie. In the struggle against theocracy and feudal autocracy and in the course of preparing ideologically for the bourgeois revolution, this trend of humanism played an important and progressive role in history. After the bourgeoisie became a ruling class, the hypocrisy of bourgeois humanism increased daily with the development of the bourgeois reactionary tendency and the growth of the proletarian revolutionary struggle. At that time, bourgeois humanism often became a sweet complement to the violent suppression of the proletariat and the working people by the bourgeoisie and, within the ranks of the proletariat and the working people, its influence often became corrosive to the revolutionary struggle. Naturally, in this period, in an attempt to expose the darkness of capitalist society, some utopian socialists and some writers of critical realism still applied the weapon of humanism. Even in modern capitalist society, there are still quite a few genuine humanists opposing the danger of war created by hegemonism, the nuclear arms race, fascism, and other kinds of terrorism, racial discrimination, and calling for safeguarding the rights of women and children and the protection of the environment for human existence. In these respects, the socialists should undoubtedly support their struggle. So long as they persist in opposing the imperialist reactionary policy and exposing the criminal phenomena of the capitalist system hampering human progress, they will probably become socialists or sympathizers of socialism. For example, French writers Anatole France, Romain Rolland, and Louis Aragon, and scientists Paul Langevin and Joliot-Curie, Spanish painter Pablo Picasso (here we refer only to the original nationalities of these people), British writer George Bernard Shaw and scientists Claude Bernard and Joseph Needham; German writers Heinrich Mann, Thomas Mann, and Bertolt Brecht and scientist Albert Einstein; American writer Theodore Dreiser, film artist Charles Chaplin, and reporter Edgar Snow; Chilean poet Pablo Neruda; Canadian surgeon Norman Bethune; Indian writer Rabindranath Tagore; Japanese writers (Takero) Arishima and (Yuriko) Miyamoto and economist (Hajime), are their outstanding representatives. Needless to say, however, due to the limitations of their bourgeois stand and world outlook and to their divorce from or even their opposition to the revolutionary struggle of the working people, many of the

humanists are unavoidably weak and feeble in their struggle against the inhuman atrocities of the bourgeoisie. The so-called humanism prattled by the reactionary bourgeois politicians and theoreticians has been used entirely in whitewashing imperialism and attacking the people's revolution and socialism. This is out-and-out hypocrisy and is reactionary. Therefore, when criticizing bourgeois humanism, we should affirm its historical role; with respect to bourgeois humanists and bourgeois humanist publicity in actual life, we should make a distinction between their different political and social tendencies and adopt different attitudes and policies.

We should publicize and practice socialist humanism. What is it and why is it necessary to publicize and practice it in the advancing course of our struggle to build socialism? What is the difference between socialist humanism and bourgeois humanism?

Socialist humanism is humanism of moral principles and standards. It has a socialist economic base, is suited to the socialist political system, and belongs to the ideology of socialist ethics. As a moral principle, it is based on Marxist world and historical outlooks.

Now that we have Marxist historical materialism, why is it still necessary to have socialist humanism? Historical materialism should never overlook the important role of ethics as an ideology. On the one hand, it gives a scientific explanation of the historical changes of ethics in different times and of different classes and finds out its mutual relationship with the economic base to which it attaches itself as well as with the superstructure and other ideologies which attach themselves to the same economic base. On the other hand, it calls on the builders of the new society to strive to establish, while building the new economic base, ethics suited to it, just as they build the other departments of the superstructure and ideologies. Historical materialism points out that ethics are a reflection of and serve the economic base and that in different societies, the economic base is different with the ethics determined and demanded by the economic bases naturally different in essence. Historical materialism also points out that social life is so complicated it is impossible to classify all social phenomena into productive forces, production relations, superstructure, and ideology (language, theoretical mathematics and natural sciences, and physical training and athletic activities are examples of these social phenomena).

Moreover, there is still something in common in the social life of different social systems. Therefore, a change in social system never has brought about, and never will bring about, the complete suspension or reconstruction of social life. Viewed from the historical development of ideology, a new society always critically carries forward, develops, and reforms from the old society many things from the spiritual wealth of human civilization. So does ethics. For this reason, socialist humanism is essentially different from bourgeois humanism, which serves as moral principles, but it also has a certain relationship of critical inheritance with bourgeois humanism.

A great many moral ideals have been put forward in the course of human society's development. The moral ideal of bourgeois humanism was the highest moral ideal ever put forward prior to the proletarian socialist movement. However, under the capitalist system, it is impossible to realize these moral ideals genuinely. Although some genuine humanists have personally displayed some admirable characteristics in practicing the moral principles of humanism and although it is also possible for capitalist society to realize to a certain degree certain requirements of this principle within the scope of reform, provided it does not touch the fundamental system of capitalism, fundamentally speaking, however, the class exploiting system of capitalism can only turn, to a large extent, the moral principles of humanism into empty talk.

Under the socialist system, we have eliminated the class exploiting system of capitalism and set up the public ownership of the means of production. The new economic base ensures that it is fully possible for socialist humanism, which contains new and higher-level moral principles of humanism, to be realized genuinely, gradually, and more satisfactorily. This is because socialist humanism has critically carried forward and reformed the rational elements in the moral principles of bourgeois humanism. Therefore, we can also say that the moral principles of humanism, which some genuine humanists in history cherished illusions to realize but were unable to realize in the scope of the whole society, can only become a reality under the socialist system. Only by reforming, on the basis of Marxist world and historical outlooks, such social ideals as the emancipation of all mankind and the development of man in a free and all-round way as put forward by utopian socialism is it possible for scientific socialism to carry them forward and, in the liberation struggle of the proletariat, to find the practical path for achieving them gradually.

When we stress that socialist humanism attaches itself to the socialist economic base, we should also emphatically point out that revolutionary humanism, which serves as moral principles for dealing with people, has taken shape and developed in the revolutionary practice in which the proletariat leads the people in the struggle to build the socialist system in the future and in the revolutionary ranks by the proletarian political parties. In dealing with people, we, first of all, refer to the greatest majority of people. We shall also explain later that in dealing with the enemy who has surrendered or who can no longer perpetuate outrages, the people also practice a specified moral principle of humanism.

Socialist humanism represents a development of revolutionary humanism, the latter being the predecessor of the former. Both are essentially identical.

Revolutionary humanism was our slogan raised during the revolutionary years. In the course of leading the Chinese revolution, the CPC and Comrade Mao Zedong made very great contributions to the development of revolutionary humanism. Naturally, the ideology guiding the Chinese revolution is Marxism and not humanism, the latter serving as world and historical outlooks. Such humanism could not help us determine the program of our struggle against imperialism and feudalism, let alone help us find a revolutionary path of

launching revolutionary struggle, carrying out the agrarian revolution, and encircling and seizing the cities with the use of the rural revolutionary base areas. However, in the course of the people's revolutionary struggle, which takes Marxism as its guide, revolutionary humanism, which serves as a revolutionary moral principle, has been linked together with our revolutionary struggle and has attained great development. Take our army for example. Because it is revolutionary in nature and serves the people, nearly since the founding of the Red Army, it has practiced the "three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention," maintained equality between officers and men, and fostered democracy in the three main fields [political, economic, and military democracy at the company level of the PLA]. (The first and third points of the three main rules of discipline are purely discipline within the army. They do not involve the relationship between the army and the people. We take them here as an entity and so do not analyze them.)

The humanistic character of the relationships between the army and the people and between officers and men in our People's Army never existed before in China's history and were also rarely seen in world history. In the reactionary army of old China, the officers did not treat the soldiers as human beings and the army did not treat the people as human beings, let alone treating prisoners as human beings. In our People's Army, the relationship between officers and men was one between comrades and the army, and the people were as inseparable as fish and water. For this reason, the officers did not hit or swear at the soldiers but shared weal and woe with them; both the officers and men respected and cherished the people, did not take a single needle or piece of thread from them, spoke politely, paid fairly for what they bought, did not hit or swear at the people or take liberties with women; they neither ill-treated captives nor searched them for money or valuables, but welcomed them if they wanted to stay, and gave them traveling expenses if they wanted to return home. (Captives were generally also class brothers. They attacked the Red Army because they were oppressed and deceived by the reactionary army. After being taken prisoner, they won freedom and might become politically awakened.) All this was determined by the revolutionary character and political aim of the People's Army. At the same time, it also reflected the moral principles of revolutionary humanism. The slogan of "healing the wounded, rescuing the dying, and practicing revolutionary humanism" put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong is not merely a slogan for medical work. In a certain sense, we can say that it reflected the character of our revolution from the moral aspect.

This spirit of revolutionary humanism attained further development after the liberation of the whole country. By suppressing bandits, opposing local despots, providing relief to the unemployed, eliminating prostitutes and beggars, and banning drug trafficking and drug taking, the social outlook of the whole country took on an altogether new aspect. In the initial period after the founding of the PRC, when the state was still in a very difficult financial situation, the party and Comrade Mao Zedong instituted labor protection and free medical service. With respect to floods, droughts, and various diseases, such as the plague, cholera, and schistosomiasis, about which old China had been quite helpless for thousands of years, the people's

government relied on the people to carry out large-scale water conservation projects and the struggle to resist natural disasters, to wipe out diseases, and to eliminate pests.

The actions to lessen the sufferings of the masses as stated above are too numerous to mention one by one. They are the political and economic responsibilities of our system and political power. At the same time, they also reflect the moral principles of revolutionary humanism. When resolutely overthrowing the exploiting system and eliminating the exploiting classes, with respect to its members, with the exception of a small handful of elements guilty of the most heinous crimes with heavy blood debts, we still strived to help them to transform themselves into people earning their own living through labor and to join in the ranks of laborers.

We resolutely suppressed the counterrevolutionaries and serious criminals in order to protect the people; at the same time, we gave all criminals who did not deserve to be sentenced to death and executed immediately, including "Emperor" Fuyi of the puppet Manzhouguo, important officials of the KMT Army, government, and secret service, and important military officers of the Japanese invading troops, where possible, humanistic treatment by giving them the opportunity to turn over a new leaf or by repatriating them. This is also a manifestation of revolutionary humanism. Therefore, although the enemy condemns us as inhuman, the facts precisely prove that the proletarian revolutionary movement has genuinely realized the basic spirit of humanism, which advanced humanity has been seeking for a long time.

Compared with revolutionary humanism, socialist humanism has again expanded its scope and enriched its content on a new basis. The establishment of socialist society and the development of socialist construction naturally call for the development of socialist humanism. The socialist system of public ownership has identified the basic interests of the individuals and society. In this way, society should, and is in a position to, genuinely respect every laborer, his labor, and the fruits of his labor, genuinely regard the meeting of the needs of social members for ever growing material and cultural life as the aim of social production, and gradually create the necessary social conditions for bringing into play and developing the talents of laborers. Among the laborers of socialist society, a relationship of unity, mutual help, and friendly affection should be and can be established and the relationship of benefiting oneself at the expense of others and cheating or outwitting one another, which was a characteristic of the old society, should be eliminated.

Therefore, on the basis of the socialist system, we should and can form a moral relationship of socialism within the wide scope of all socialist laborers with socialist humanism as its important content. This kind of socialist humanism reflects from the moral aspect the respect and concern of the socialist country and society for the rights, interests, and character of the great majority of the people and the common concern of the great majority of the people for their common interests, mutual respect and concern.

Socialist humanism has not taken shape spontaneously. It has gradually taken shape with education in communist ideology and under the inspiration of the advanced element's exemplary actions. Whether in the course of revolution or in socialist construction, the CPC has attached great importance to education in communist ideology and revolutionary ethics by advocating that we should serve the people wholeheartedly, be the first to charge and the last to retreat, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, think of others and the people at every turn, and that, if necessary, we should sacrifice our own interests for those of other people and sacrifice the interests of the individual and a small number of people for those of the motherland and the great majority of people.

In his article "In Memory of Norman Bethune" Comrade Mao Zedong criticized some Communist Party members by saying that they feel no warmth toward comrades and the people but are cold, indifferent, and apathetic. He called on all people to learn Comrade Bethune's spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of self and his great warmheartedness toward all comrades and the people. He pointed out that "if a person has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value of the people."²² This is noble communist spirit and represents the distinctive political character and revolutionary qualities of true communists and revolutionaries; at the same time, they also reflect, from the moral principles of dealing with people, the spirit of revolutionary and socialist humanism. We Chinese communists always keep ourselves within the bounds of communist ideology and revolutionary ethics, including humanism, and carry out education among the contingents we have organized and the broad masses under our leadership. Publicizing and practicing socialist humanism represents a part of our education in ethics and a task in building socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology at its core.

Does the above explanation overexpand the definition of revolutionary and socialist humanism? How are communist morality and socialist humanism related to each other? In expounding socialist humanism as an ethical principle against a broad background involving the political discipline and democratic spirit of the revolutionary army, the economic measures, social measures, and legal system of the people's government, and so on, we do not mean to include all these political, economic, and social policies and measures in the realm of humanism. We just want to point out that all these policies and measures inevitably have their own socialist ethical significance and, in this sense, all of them are expressions of socialist humanism. The many ethical relations between people can only be related to the political, economic, and social relations between them and thus become an aspect of the latter. The practice of the socialist humanist ethical principles is inseparable from the socialist transformation and socialist building of economy, politics, and society. And the latter are the very premise and basis of the former. This is what the scientific principles of historical materialism have indicated. Therefore, we must expound, propagandize, and practice socialist humanism in connection with, but not disregarding political, economic, and social transformation and building.

As for the relationship between communist morality and socialist humanism, it must be acknowledged that the two concepts are at two different levels within the whole entity of the ethical and moral standards for socialist social life. Communist morality, as the highest moral standard for contemporary people, belongs to the top level and is the highest requirement in this entity, which is applicable to the progressives. Socialist humanism belongs to a relatively low level in this entity. And, as a moral requirement, it has a much broader coverage. In other words, it can be accepted by most people. This entity also includes other lower levels. All these levels and their many aspects, are interrelated and mingled. Communist morality cannot be divorced from the ethical and moral standards of other aspects and other levels but must be closely related to them. And, in many cases, communist morality also has to be embodied in these ethical and moral standards and will, in return, add some loftier meaning to them. For example, a medical worker who is a Communist Party member has to practice communist morality through playing an exemplary role in abiding by the moral standards for a medical career (including the humanist principles to be adhered to in treating the patient). In return, the traditional moral standards for a medical career, being linked to the communist revolutionary cause, will be enhanced.

Can socialist humanism be regarded as Marxist humanism? If Marxist humanism is not defined as a kind of world outlook and a conception of history, but as a set of socialist ethical and moral principles subordinate to the Marxist world outlook and conception of history and to the socialist economic and political system, it will be quite all right to apply the Marxist humanist definitions. However, without the necessary footnote, the above definition can possibly be interpreted as the mixing, merging, and summation of two different world outlooks and conceptions of history--Marxism and humanism. This definition will thus arouse a confusion of concepts. Facts show that the definition will be clearer if socialist humanism, as an important part of socialist ethical and moral standards, is defined as something parallel to the socialist democracy, legal system, spiritual civilization, literature and arts, realism, and so on, all of which belong to the superstructure and ideology of a certain social system (economic basis).

Today, publicizing and practicing socialist humanism is of important, urgent, and practical significance. Due to the long-standing influence of feudal ideology, the corrosion of the degenerate bourgeois ideology, and the backward state of culture and economy, some criminal phenomena which violate humanitarian principles to differing extents, as well as a lack of concern for, respect for, sympathy with, and love for people (referring first of all to ordinary laborers, ordinary intellectuals, staff of general service trades, ordinary customers, and, in particular, ordinary women, children, aged people, and the disabled) can be seen in the actual social life in our country. The existence of these phenomena is counter to the interests of the people and socialism. In order to develop socialist material and spiritual civilization, we must unremittingly wage struggle against these phenomena, and make every effort to minimize the people's pain and misfortune, improve their working conditions, strengthen labor safety and protection, and prevent and avoid all unnecessary loss of life. We must carry out among

Communist Party members, cadres, masses, youths, and children a drive of ideological and moral education centering on communist ideology and covering the ethical principles of socialist humanism.

This moral education on socialist humanism has nothing in common with the propaganda of abstract humanity, the abstract value of man, individualism, and humanist world outlook and conception of history. Since the late 1950's, humanism has been criticized many times in our country. One of the mistakes we committed in criticizing humanism was that we failed to distinguish between humanism as a world outlook and conception of history and humanism as an ethical principle. We waged an overall criticism against all types of humanism instead of concentrating our criticism on the historical idealist element of humanism. As a result, we stopped publicizing revolutionary and socialist humanism. Such a mistake must be resolutely corrected and should never be repeated.

We should pay attention to the propaganda and practice of socialist humanism on all fronts. We should carry out such propaganda work with literary and art work in particular. We oppose the publicizing of the humanist world outlook and conception of history by literary and artistic works or literary and artistic critiques. We also oppose publicizing such things as the theory of human nature's transcending history and society by distorting the revolutionary history and revolutionary reality. However, we do not and should never oppose the role of literary and artistic works in depicting our revolution, socialist society, revolutionaries' and laborers' concern for, respect for, sympathy with, and love of people. We do not and should never oppose our literary and artistic workers' effort to concretely and vividly depict real human nature, human love, patriotism, a sense of justice, and the dignity of the personality of ordinary socialist citizens. Opposition to these efforts is stupid. It means opposing socialist literature and art, destroying them, and depriving them of their artistic appeal and their educative function. We must try by every means to fully promote socialist humanism and enable it to meet the requirements of the socialist system and to keep pace with socialist economic, political, and cultural development.

By and large, we must publicize and practice socialist humanism and, at the same time, resolutely oppose all attempts to publicize humanism or, more precisely, bourgeois humanism in abstract terms. In publicizing and practicing socialist humanism, we are not regarding it as our world outlook and conception of history but as an ethical principle to be followed by everyone in handling his relationship with others in socialist society. While Marxism and Marxist historical materialism are the ideological basis of socialist humanism, historical idealism derived from the theory of abstract human nature is the ideological basis of bourgeois humanism.

The sharp contrast between these ideological bases gives rise to the fundamental antagonism between them in various aspects. Bourgeois humanism originates from an abstract definition of man, human nature, and human value, while socialist humanism, on the contrary, takes socialist social relations and the needs and possibility of the actual development of socialist construction as its starting point. Bourgeois humanism will not go so far as

to endanger the fundamental system of capitalism, but socialist humanism is aimed at the elimination of the exploiting system and the establishment of the socialist system of public ownership. Bourgeois humanism appeals to human nature, to human rationality, to all mankind, and to the good intentions of the exploiters and the exploited. It preaches the doctrine of "no resistance to evil," and objects to revolutionary violence. On the contrary, socialist humanism tends to reach its goal through class struggle by the proletariat and the laboring people against reactionary rule and exploitation, through the people's revolution, and through the people's democratic dictatorship.

Although the exploiting class as a class has been wiped out in socialist society, class struggle will remain within a certain scope. Under such circumstances, it is still necessary to integrate the propaganda and practice of socialist humanism with the class struggle which is aimed at cracking down on and opposing all types of antisocialist enemies. In general, bourgeois humanism takes individualism as its kernel. On the contrary, socialist humanism takes collectivism as its kernel, holding that the individual cannot do without the collective and must be subordinate to the collective, and advocating the unification of the interests of the individual and the collective. On the surface, abstract humanism has the form of universality. But, as a parochial concept, it cannot be free from hypocrisy. On the contrary, although socialist humanism is concrete and subject to conditions, it conforms to the interests of the majority. Therefore, it is sincere and realistic, and has tremendous power and progressiveness incomparably superior to that of bourgeois humanism. It can be expected that socialist humanism will surely be further carried forward in our country, following the development of socialist practice, in the process of the building of a socialist modernized country with a high degree of civilization and democracy.

4. Can the Theory of "Alienation" Be Used To Explain the Negative Phenomena in the Socialist Society?

The socialist system is the most advanced social system thus far in human history. However, the developing path of all newly emerging things, the socialist system being no exception, is always rugged and tortuous. And the socialist system itself can never possibly be perfect in every aspect. Our country, in its path of development, has made many mistakes and suffered many setbacks. Even today, after the serious mistakes committed in the past have been corrected, we still face quite a few shortcomings. There is no doubt that we must pay attention to various problems of different natures in our work and various negative phenomena in society and make efforts to overcome them. The focus of argument is what guiding ideology we should use to interpret all these negative phenomena and in what way we can correctly explain and overcome them.

We hold that only by making a concrete historical analysis of the past mistakes and setbacks and the existing negative phenomena under the guidance of the theory and method of historical materialism can we find out, in accordance with different cases, the correct guideline and method to solve the problems. However, some comrades do not agree with such a view. While

publicizing humanism in abstract terms, they apply to the analysis of socialist society the concept of alienation which Marx had used to depict the antagonistic relationship between wage labor and capital under the capitalist system. Thus they classify as alienation of socialist society all difficulties, setbacks, shortcomings, and bad practices which have emerged and been solved, or those which still exist and emerge in our country during the socialist period, or those which only exist in certain comrade's exaggerated and fictitious description. It seems for them that only by using the trademark of alienation can the question be profoundly expounded and the best solution to these problems found. Is the theory of "alienation" so marvelous?

In order to answer this question, let us first make a historical review and study of the term.

Alienation is a borrowed term with the meaning of conveyance, withdrawing, separation, and so on. The simple rendering of this word as "alienation" does not express all the meaning the word actually carries. In the West, the term alienation became gradually popular in works on philosophy and sociology in modern times. However, different authors attached different meanings to the term. Hegel used the concept of alienation to interpret the separation and antagonism between subject and object (including the laborer and the product) and to explain how the so-called "absolute idea" "externalizes" in nature. Feuerbach used the concept of alienation to interpret and criticize religion, holding that religion created by man has become the dominator of man, and that God is nothing more than an alienation of human nature. When criticizing idealism, he also held that idealism is an alienation of man's reason.

Other bourgeois philosophers also gave different definitions to the term when mentioning the concept of alienation. The word alienation, used in the modern daily life and in literary and artistic critiques, has an even more ambiguous meaning. It roughly carries the meaning of withdrawing, isolation, strangeness, the state of being helpless, objectless, ruleless, and meaningless, and so on. The prevailing theory of alienation in the modern capitalist world shows bourgeois or petite bourgeois thinkers' perplexity and disappointment in face of the contradictions and the absurdity of life in the capitalist society.

There was a great difference between Marx' interpretation of the concept of alienation before and after his founding of Marxism. Using Feuerbach as his starting point, Marx initiated Marxism. As Lenin said: "Marx in 1844-1847 went from Hegel to Feuerbach, and further beyond Feuerbach to historical (and dialectical) materialism."²³ Marx' "Outline on Feuerbach," written in 1845, was a great leap in this ideological development's course. Before the writing of this "Outline," in particular, in "The 1844 Manuscript of Economics and Philosophy," Marx, influenced by Feuerbach in explaining religion by alienation (here also influenced by Hegel in the analysis of labor), proposed the idea of the alienation of labor, regarding "alienation" as fundamental in explaining history, criticizing capitalism, and discussing and proving the historical inevitability of capitalism's elimination. This was an important

step in initiating Marxism. There are many valuable views in the book; however, it is still an immature Marxist work because when Marx was making a philosophical demonstration of his economic analysis and practical conclusion, he had not abandoned the approach of speculative philosophy, namely, starting from some abstract concept or abstract formula, and including the object in this concept or formula. After writing this "Outline," Marx rapidly stopped this approach completely. In "German Ideologies," jointly written by Marx and Engels between 1845 and 1846, the term "alienation" was adopted only as "a term understandable by the philosophers" at that time, and it was stated that the term "was used temporarily."²⁴ But in "The Communist Manifesto" published later in 1848, not only did Marx and Engels reject the concept of alienation, but they criticized the German "genuine socialists" for having written such "nonsensical philosophy" as the "externalization of the intrinsic quality of man" under the cover of the French documents on socialism, making them "meaningless speculation on the realization of the intrinsic quality of man."²⁵ In "The Poverty of Philosophy," written by Marx (1847) prior to "The Communist Manifesto," and in the following series of important works written after it, the concept of alienation was not adopted: "The Class Struggle in France" (1850), "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" (1851-1852), "The Civil War in France" (1871), "Critique of the Gotha Program" (1875), and "Wage, Labor and Capital" (1849), "The Declaration of the Founding of the International Working Men's Association" (1864), and "Wages, Price and Profit" (1865), and in "Anti-Duhring" (1876-1878) (Engels' chief works, which Marx read and for which he contributed part of the writing).

Of course, this was not a coincidence. It illustrated that Marx, in his maturity, came to understand that alienation as a theory and approach had failed to reveal the essence of things. He had surpassed such a theory and approach, and created the science of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. He no longer explained history with the theory of alienation, but did it scientifically with historical materialism; nor did he explain capitalism and labor under the capitalist system with the theory of alienation but used the doctrine of surplus value. His analysis of the important political incident of the coup d'etat of Louis Bonaparte has provided a glorious example for the concrete application of historical materialism, without adding to it "meaningless speculation" such as alienation. In a sense, it was by surpassing the theory and approach of alienation that Marx founded and developed the scientific theory and approach of Marxism. Indeed, if the theory of alienation had been capable of explaining history scientifically, there would have been no need of historical materialism; and if the theory of alienation had been capable of explaining capitalism scientifically, there would have been no need of the doctrine of surplus value and the scientific research on the whole capital movement. Then the two great discoveries of Marx would not have been necessary, and Marxism could not have appeared.

Those comrades who are zealous about the alienation theory like to quote Marx' concept of alienation from "Das Kapital," and from his manuscripts in the preparation of "Das Kapital." If we observe and study with an objective attitude, we will find that the concept of alienation which Marx used

in those works did not regard alienation as a fundamental law of an everlasting and universal nature. He explicitly pointed out: "It is very obvious that such process of reversal is but an /historical/ inevitability, and is by no means certain /absolute/ inevitability; it is, however, a transitional inevitability."²⁶ At the same time, when he described hired labor under the capitalist system, and other phenomena of production relations under capitalism by means of the concept of alienation, he did not regard the concept of alienation as capable of expounding the essences of these phenomena. To him, the essence of the phenomenon of alienation was yet to be explained with his doctrine of surplus value and the whole scientific research on the movement of capital. Moreover, as a concept for expression, Marx did not hold that it was irreplaceable. Marx did not have time to sort out his manuscripts to be passed down to future generations, and he may have used the term "alienation" too often; however, in the first volume of "Das Kapital," completed in 1867, the term "alienation" was used on only four occasions.²⁷ But in the first volume of the French edition of "Das Kapital" which he personally revised and proofread between 1872 and 1875, the term "alienation" was retained on only one occasion, while in other places he changed the expressions. This may serve as evidence. (In 1878, he even wrote a letter to Danielson, the translator of the Russian version, requesting that he carefully compare the second German edition with the French edition, because in the latter, important revisions and supplements had been made in many places.²⁸)

In short, it is necessary to differentiate between the two conditions in handling the concept of alienation. One treats alienation as a fundamental law, theory, and approach; the other treats it as a concept to express some specific phenomenon (including of regularity) during a specific historical stage. Marxism refuses the first concept of alienation, but uses the concept in the latter sense, and strictly confines it in a class antagonistic society, in particular, the capitalist society. Therefore, we can see the difference between the actual conditions in which Marx employed the concept of alienation, and the view that alienation was transformed by Marx as one of the fundamental realms of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and that it has become a general approach to explain history and capitalism. Hence, there is no need to say anything about the view which regards alienation as a general law and the general approach to analyzing socialist society.

Of course, Marxism is not dogmatic; it develops with the development of the working class movement and social practice. We should not hold that we should not say what Marx did not say, and that every sentence Marx said is an unalterable truth. However, our requirement is to push Marxist theory on socialism forward, not to lead it backward. To push ahead and develop the scientific theory on socialism, including new explanations on some concepts, or to introduce and create some new concepts, must be based on the fundamental theory and approach of historical materialism, must proceed from actual conditions, and be tested by practice. Some comrades say that alienation is an antithesis generating from its own activities in the course of the development of a subject and then, as an external and alien force, this antithesis turns against or dominates the subject itself. Deviating from

concrete historical conditions, they have changed alienation, the historical and transitional form, which gives expression in the specific social relations of socialism as an abstract formula which is everlasting and all-inclusive. Then, they apply it to analyzing socialism, and thereupon, put forth the problem of alienation in socialism. It is precisely with this approach that they have confused socialist society with capitalist society.

The socialist system is a new social system; it has been established on the basis of eliminating the private ownership in capitalism, and eliminating the exploitation of hired labor by capitalism. The change from capitalism to socialism is a fundamental leap in the development of history. This is a most important dividing line in history. If we do not admit this historical demarcation, but apply the concept of alienation used by Marx in explaining antagonistic social relations in capitalism by analyzing the social relations in socialist society, it will inevitably lead to the serious distortion of socialist reality. The fact that the hired laborers' labor under capitalist conditions has become an alienated force that turns against and dominates itself, as Marx mentioned, is determined by the nature of the capitalist system. The view of some comrades that alienation exists in socialism, or which calls the many phenomena left over by the old society in socialist society and various phenomena originating from it alienation, contradicts the definition they give to alienation. And the view that socialism will inevitably give birth to an alien force that turns against and dominates itself actually conforms with the definition they give to alienation. But this is tantamount to saying there is no difference between socialist society and capitalist society. Starting from the abstract formula of alienation, to include all the negative phenomena in socialist society in the formula of alienation, we will necessarily be regarding all of them as regular and antagonistic, when they are the result of the activities of socialist society. This will by no means help us in explaining and overcoming any negative phenomena existing in socialist society, but will have a destructive effect on solving these problems and on the socialist system itself.

Let us concretely analyze the so-called phenomenon of alienation in socialism starting from their definition of alienation.

First is the so-called "ideological alienation" used to explain the phenomenon of the personality cult by means of the alienation approach.

The "Cultural Revolution" was a serious setback in the development of socialism in our country. There were complicated reasons for its occurrence; primarily, it was because Chairman Mao Zedong made an erroneous estimation of the class struggle situation in our country and the conditions within the party. Thereupon, he departed from the collective leadership of the party, and actually called on a number of sinister and ruthless opportunists. The reason his erroneous estimation and erroneous leadership were capable of dominating the whole party was certainly related to his extremely great authority, which had already been formed at that time, and his personality cult.

Concerning the personality cult, a specific historical phenomenon, we should by no means copy the approach adopted by Feuerbach in explaining religion, by explaining it with alienation in a simplified manner, but must base ourselves on historical materialism, making concrete analysis of the objective social historical background and the development of revolutionary practice. Marx, Engels, and Lenin all opposed and condemned the personality cult; however, they did not speak of it as alienation or the bud of alienation. The problems involved in how to correctly appraise the individual roles of outstanding leading figures will only be correctly explained by historical materialism. The trust in and the admiration for Comrade Mao Zedong on the part of the party and the people were formed in the long-standing revolutionary course out of his long-standing leading role and his outstanding contributions to the Chinese revolution. Formation of such admiration was quite natural and normal. Even if some people expressed such feelings inaccurately in words, this cannot be said to be a personality cult. The victorious development of the Chinese revolution between 1935 and 1956 precisely serves as a most eloquent explanation. Later, the normal admiration gradually changed into a personality cult. On the one hand, it was because Comrade Mao Zedong himself had failed to be prudent in success, divorcing himself from practice and the masses, until he sabotaged the centralized democratic system of the party, and overconcentrated power in himself. On the other hand, it had something to do with the fact that in the past, Comrade Mao Zedong was in the right, and that the whole party was immature in its understanding of various problems during the socialist period (in particular, the problem of class struggle). The personality cult is, of course, erroneous; and the results of its malignant development were extremely grave.

During the "Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and other counter-revolutionary careerists created and utilized the personality cult because of their ulterior motives, sabotaged the socialist cause greatly, and created many inhuman, barbarous criminal acts, causing many CPC members, intellectuals, workers, peasants, and patriotic democratic people to meet with extraordinary misfortunes. Now, the ringleaders of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques have been dealt with in accordance with the law. Our party has resolutely condemned the "Cultural Revolution" and the personality cult. At the same time, we should also see that even in the thick of the "Cultural Revolution," things were very complicated concerning people's attitudes toward Comrade Mao Zedong, and we should not place it on a par with religious belief. Concentrating the wisdom of the whole party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has scientifically summed up the history of the "Cultural Revolution" and the phenomenon of the personality cult and so on, and has drawn from them necessary lessons, and measures to avoid the repetition of similar errors. Such summation is entirely based on the view and approach of historical materialism, but not on the so-called theory of alienation. The attempt to explain the phenomenon of personality cult with "ideological alienation" will give people nothing but a simplified caricature, which cannot in the least explain the cause of the incident, making it even less possible to explain why the party has so smoothly brought order out of chaos.

Second, is so-called "political alienation" or "power alienation."

In our society, in places where socialist democracy and the legal system are not perfect and complete and in places where there are irrationalities in the leadership system at various levels of the party and the state, such unhealthy tendencies exist as bureaucratism among some cadres and corruptive phenomena such as seeking personal gain by taking advantage of one's power in office, riding roughshod over the masses, and so on. At the same time, some masses who lack political consciousness have to some extent violated state law, sabotaged the interests of the state and the public, and been imprisoned for committing acts injuring the life, properties, and rights of other citizens. These two different aspects of negative phenomena are both leftover social influences of the past exploiting system; they are not alienation appearing in the growth of the new socialist society. Concerning these remnants left over from the old society, our party and government have incessantly exposed and corrected them over the years; at present, more resolute and more systematic efforts are being exerted to carry out rectification in ideology and work style, to engage in weeding out in the organizations, and to carry out reform in the system; meanwhile, all criminals violating the criminal code (whether they are officials or ordinary citizens) will be severely cracked down on in accordance with the law. All these measures have won the powerful support of the people. To explain the various negative phenomena mentioned above as so-called "political alienation" or "power alienation" completely violates the political and state doctrine of Marxism, distorts objective realities, and runs counter to the combined efforts of the party, the government, and the people.

As we know, on the questions of political power and the state, it was precisely by Marxism's abandonment of the naive fairy tales on the theory of natural rights and the social charter, and the explanation of the birth and development of the state from the Marxist approach of economic relations and class struggle that these phenomena attained a scientific explanation. It was precisely by making concrete, historical analysis in economy and politics and not by using alienation in a simplified manner that Engels explained the origins of private property and the state. Likewise, Marxism points out that it is only with the dictatorship of the proletariat that state power has become people's power for the first time in history, thereby creating the premise for the final elimination of the state as a means of class rule.

However, Marxists are not utopians. On the one hand, the proletarian dictatorship (which we call the people's democratic dictatorship, and has nothing in common with the fascist reign of terror) is an indispensable condition for the transition to a classless society. Without it, under the condition in which class struggle still exists at home and internationally, the proletariat and the laboring people who have won victory cannot maintain their rule for one day. Those who deny this are not Marxists. On the other hand, any revolutionary political party and revolutionary political power not only wants democracy, but also a concentration of power, which is acquired through accomplishment of their own tasks. Even after the elimination of political power as a form of class rule and after the

elimination of the state and the political party, at which point democracy will become a habit, concentration and authority on the basis of democracy will still be entirely necessary in organized social life. Otherwise, it will be difficult to carry on production and distribution in an organized way, even impossible to maintain order in traffic, and still more impossible to efficiently struggle, with leadership, against great natural calamities. This is common sense.

Worshipping democracy and self-rule in a one-sided manner, while negating concentration of power and authority, believing that democracy itself is concentration, and therefore, opposing the system of democratic centralism fundamentally--such a view is probably based on the supposition that any problems, big or small, may be solved through casting a vote by the masses and acting in accordance with the opinion of the majority vote. Under such a situation, the masses would be casting votes every day and every hour; and every one of the masses would have to become an encyclopedia, for he should have a correct understanding of and the ability to judge any problem on which a vote is needed. Such absurd "democracy" cannot be imagined today, and it will still be unimaginable in the distant future. In short, the view that wherever there is power, there is "alienation of power" is one of anarchism; it is by no means a Marxist view.

Many of those comrades who propagate so-called "political alienation," and "power alienation" have shown an utter hatred for the "Cultural Revolution." Hatred for the "Cultural Revolution" is perfectly proper. Therefore, it is necessary to remind these comrades: Will not talk of so-called "political alienation" and "power alienation," and referring to the change from public servants of society into mandarins of society as a regular phenomenon be something very similar to phrases like "continue the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship," "the persons in power within the party taking the capitalist road," "the bourgeoisie are precisely in the Communist Party," and so on? Were not those phrases the very "theoretical basis" for the "Cultural Revolution"? Is it not very clear whether or not the "Cultural Revolution," under the guidance of that kind of "theory," was helpful in overcoming the negative phenomena in our society, and what role it actually played in the unhealthy tendencies among the cadre contingent, and so on?

We should also like to remind these comrades that even if they are standing on the correct side, they should also remember that Marx, Engels, or Lenin, throughout their lives of struggle for the emancipation of the working class, never gave up ideological and political struggle against various erroneous tendencies, erroneous ideological trends, and even various opportunist factions in the working class movement. Such struggles gravely led to the split of the First International and the Second International. In all these struggles, they made concrete analysis of those tendencies, ideological trends, and the political and ideological errors of those factions, and their social and historical background, and thus greatly enriched and developed Marxism. But why is it that they never once spoke of these tendencies, ideological trends, and factions as the alienation of the working class movement? Here, there is no other reason: It is precisely because they strictly applied the Marxist theory and approach. Why do the comrades

advocating the theory of "political alienation" today not follow the examples of Marx, Engels and Lenin? Perhaps then, they will discover how far they have deviated from Marxism if they rashly apply the label of alienation on serious questions.

Some comrades have indiscriminately applied to a limitless extent the concept of alienation by regarding the mistakes committed and the foolish things done due to a lack of experience in economic work and a lack of understanding of the objective law as alienation in the spheres of economy. If all mistakes, setbacks, and things contrary to one's wishes are looked upon as alienation, what a cheap and universal science it would be! Consequently, the people are attached forever to alienation, just as they cannot part from their shadows under the sun. The fact that these comrades have indiscriminately applied the concept of alienation at least indicates the following: First, in order to preach alienation as a universal and all-embracing thing, they have spared no effort in making irrelevant comparisons and have obstinately created the so-called theory of "economic alienation." Second, they have approached the extremely serious and practical problem of socialist economic construction with a frivolous attitude divorced from reality and with empty talk on speculative philosophy. As economic construction is the focus of our economic work, we are bound to encounter numerous new problems and circumstances, including the problem of a reform of the economic system. In dealing with these problems, we must carry out thorough investigations and studies, find out about the actual situation, and earnestly solve the problems in accordance with the scientific method of seeking truth from facts, Comrade Yaobang repeatedly called on theoretical workers to integrate theory with practice and not to indulge themselves in drawing inferences from hollow concepts. Why cannot our comrades, who have talked volubly about "economic alienation" and other sorts of "alienation," change their thinking?

In a nutshell, there are various complicated reasons for the outcome and existence of all sorts of problems and negative phenomena in socialist society. A short period of time has passed since the socialist system was founded. The old society has left us with a relatively weak basis and a backward economy and culture. Historically, we also lacked democratic tradition. The influence of bourgeois and other exploiting classes' ideas and the traditional influence of the old society, namely, "the habit of millions of people" as Lenin pointed out, still exist widely. While we are carrying out the policy of opening to the outside world, the influence of foreign bourgeois classes will also try to infiltrate the policy in a variety of ways.

New social systems and new emerging things are not innate, but are created by the people. In the process of going from immaturity to maturity, many things may be imperfect. While remolding the objective world, the people engaged in the building of a new society must at the same time remold their subjective world. Due to a lack of experience, it is hard to avoid mistakes in many fields. The consequences resulting from the mistakes committed in the past still remain unsolved. Today, we must make great efforts to eliminate them. Along with the development of the situation, some of the systems

and methods suitable in the past are unsuitable for the present, which obstructs us from advancing forward. Such instances will constantly occur in the future. The various negative phenomena existing in our society today, and the reasons of their existence, are characterized by different nature and classes. Contradictions of a different nature and class should be solved in different manners. Only by mastering dialectical and historical materialism, Marxist theories on economy and scientific socialism, learning the method of proceeding from practice and applying these theories to the practice of socialist construction in a realistic manner can we gradually discover the methods for solving all the problems and negative phenomena.

It seems to have a profound content by discarding the method of making a concrete analysis of concrete conditions and by attributing the complicated problems to the alienation of socialism. In fact, it indicates a lack of thinking. It cannot promote any approach to truth in understanding, nor can it provide any method for a solution in practice. On the contrary, because it has a vague but also relatively fixed antirealistic trend and an abstract form that can be indiscriminately applied everywhere, attributing all negative phenomena in society to a socialist system or leadership of a socialist society and aiming its target in concentration against party and state leadership, it therefore is bound to spread in society the sentiments of pessimism toward and lack of confidence in socialism, communism, and party leadership.

Of the articles that talked about socialist alienation, some have in fact drawn a conclusion according to the logic of this concept by saying that alienation existed everywhere in the political, economic, and ideological spheres of socialism and that its fundamental cause was not in another area, but precisely in the socialist system itself. Some comrades did not draw such a conclusion, but declared and held that socialist alienation could be overcome and that this was the superiority of socialism. Although they did not provide any ground for argument, the intention of such a declaration was relatively good, even though this is self-contradictory to their views that regard alienation as a valid law in socialist society. This is because it is impossible for the people to "overcome" any law. It cannot be a law if it can be overcome by the people. Perhaps they may say that if the people can discover the law of alienation, they will, in the light of their understanding of its law, be able to control its function. This is what they mean by "overcoming."

However, alienation is not like water and fire which can be beneficial as well as harmful. Concerning socialism, it is neither an ordinary defect nor an irrational phenomenon, but a "catastrophe" which can destroy the socialist system. Therefore, it would be ridiculous to say that the "superiority" of socialism lies only in controlling the outcome and development of such catastrophe. We would also like to advise those comrades who advocate the theory of alienation with certain good intentions that some people have already proceeded from the theory of alienation and requested abolishing all social political powers, social economic organizations, ideological authority, and centralism and discipline, and openly publicized anarchism,

absolute liberalism, and ultra-egoism. This is certainly not expected by those comrades who have talked about socialist alienation with relatively good intentions. However, a trend has the inevitable logic of its own development. If we are wrong in theory and fundamental orientation, it is bound to lead to adverse social results. Although it is difficult to completely predict such results, every party member with a sense of responsibility must conscientiously take these matters into account in advance.

We can realize from the above explanations that the publicity of a humanitarian world outlook and concept of history and the trend of socialist alienation theory is not an ordinary academic and theoretical issue, but one that has great immediate and political significance related to whether or not we can uphold the basic principles of Marxism and correctly understand the practice of socialism. Concerning this issue, any fundamental mistake will not only lead to ideological and theoretical confusion, but will also bring about negative political consequences.

The appearance of this erroneous trend is not accidental. It has a certain domestic and international historical background. In order to fully realize the significance of carrying out this ideological debate, it is necessary to find out the background of the outcome of this trend.

With regard to its domestic background, the outcome of this erroneous trend is a reaction to the decade-long internal turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution." As a matter of fact, our party, through efforts made in the past few years, has made a scientific summation of the history of the decade-long internal turmoil, basically accomplished the task of setting things to right, and effected great historical change. Our cause and understanding have both progressed to a great extent. However, the historical catastrophe of that period still deeply influences some people. Some comrades have lapsed from rebuking the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques' distortion of Marxism and socialism and from criticizing the "leftist" mistakes committed by our party and Comrade Mao Zedong, to suspecting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and socialism and party leadership.

Concerning the historical summation made by our party, some comrades did not try to continuously make advances on the basis of keeping unity in understanding with the party, but regarded it as an outstanding question and insisted on carrying out a debate in an attempt to deviate from the orientation of Marxism and find a solution to the experience and lessons of the "Great Cultural Revolution" from another orientation, such as humanism and alienation. This is just like climbing a tree to catch fish, which is a fruitless approach.

The outcome of this trend also has an international background. Along with the implementation of the correct policy of opening to the outside world and carrying out cultural exchanges, Western academic thought and culture, including some philosophical schools of humanism and the theory of alienation, are bound to pour in. A number of people in the bourgeois ideological circles in the West (including the scholars of "Marx' theory" and the

so-called "Marxists") have tried to make use of Marx' "1844 Manuscript of Economics and Philosophy" to confuse the difference between the early thought of Marx and mature Marxism, and even tried to turn it upside down by saying that Marx was mature in 1844 but later retrogressed, and that such retrogression was again intensified by Engels and Lenin. Some comrades in ideological circles in China were affected by this trend and thought that they had discovered the "new continent" that could bring Marxism to a much higher level and thus they gave the trend great publicity. Although some other comrades did not chime in with them when they were attacked by this erroneous trend, they either found it difficult to distinguish right from wrong and to make criticism or simply regarded it as a matter of no importance by adopting a wait-and-see attitude. As a result, although some theoretical workers took a Marxist stand and seriously criticized this erroneous trend from the very beginning, they still could not control its extension, which forced the CPC Central Committee to take action.

The negative influence of this philosophical trend also affected other fields, such as the literature and art circles and some young intellectuals. If we do not criticize this erroneous trend and safeguard the healthy development of Marxism, it is quite obvious what consequences it will bring about after several years.

Our comrades in the ideological front must seriously study Comrade Xiaoping's speech, calling on the ideological front not to go in for spiritual pollution, made at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, deepen their understanding, change the past weak and slack state of affairs, and take an active part in the debate of safeguarding the ideological front of Marxism. The CPC Central Committee has repeatedly expounded the principles, policies, and methods for carrying out the ideological debate in some documents, newspaper commentaries, and speeches of responsible persons, so I am not going to repeat them here. As pointed out by the CPC Central Committee, the majority of comrades on the ideological front have actively done their work according to the requirements of the party and people and have made remarkable achievements.

Those people in the theoretical or literature and art circles who advertise a humanitarian world outlook and concept of history and the theory of socialist alienation and who spread bourgeois ideas or other problems only constitute the minority. It is quite obvious that we must be aware of the corrosiveness of these erroneous ideas and not underestimate their negative influence. Since the problem involves a deviation of Marxist orientation and brings about the sentiments of nonconfidence toward socialism, the Marxist theoretical workers of our party have the responsibility to actively participate in the debate, criticize the erroneous ideas, eliminate their influence, and at the same time integrate them with the practice of socialism, study Marxism, and further develop Marxism. As for the incorrect views made by the comrades on these problems, in general, they belong to the matter of ideological understanding. Concerning such problems, we can attain the purpose of distinguishing right from wrong and also unite comrades only by studying Marxism and carrying out earnest discussions and appropriate criticism and self-criticism.

As mentioned in the beginning, my speech today is intended to participate in the discussion and to involve only in part the problems of humanism and alienation. Even in these problems, my explanations are not thorough enough and some points may certainly be unsatisfactory and inaccurate, so I hope that you will help me point out the mistakes. I also sincerely welcome those comrades who do not agree with the basic viewpoints in my speech to participate in the discussion. Truth becomes clearer through debate. Concerning these complicated theoretical problems, we can draw a correct conclusion only by carrying out objective, thorough, and meticulous studies and discussions. It goes without saying that our Marxist ideological work and socialist scientific and cultural undertakings will embark on a healthy path of development by carrying out discussion and debate.

FOOTNOTES

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16. Mao Zedong: "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," People's Publishing House, 1975 edition, p 33.
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22. Mao Zedong: "In Memory of Norman Bethune," "Selected Works," People's Publishing House, 1952 edition, Vol 2, p 630.
23. Lenin: "Conspectus of Lassalle's Book, 'The Philosophy of Heraclitus the Obscure of Ephesus,'" "Collected Works," People's Publishing House, 1959 edition, Vol 38, pp 386-387.
24. Marx and Engels: "German Ideologies," "Complete Works," People's Publishing House, 1960 edition, Vol 3, pp 39, 316.
25. Marx and Engels: "The Communist Manifesto," "Selected Works," People's Publishing House, 1972 edition, Vol 1, p 277.
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27. Marx: "Das Kapital," "Complete Works," People's Publishing House, 1972 edition, Vol 23, pp 473, 626, 668 and 708. (There are five occasions in which the term "alienation" appears in the current Chinese translation version. However, the author has found that one reference to "alienation" appears to have been wrongly translated.)
28. Marx: "To N. V. Danielson (15 November 1878)," "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," People's Publishing House, 1972 edition, Vol 34, p 332.

CSO: 4004/64

HOW CAN WE BECOME PRACTICAL AND REALISTIC?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 26 Jan 84 pp 29-32

[Article by Bai Dongcai [4101 2767 2624]]

[Text] While studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," some comrades said that it is easy to say the words and to understand "seeking truth from facts," but not easy to adhere to and implement this principle in practical work. Thus, they have, in fact, raised the question of how can we seek truth from facts. In this connection, I would like to say something about my own understanding of this question.

In order to adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts at all times and under all circumstances, we must, at least, possess the following conditions:

1. We must master the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts was put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong in accordance with the world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and by summing up the practical experiences of the Chinese revolution. The reason Comrade Mao Zedong was able to put forth and practice this ideological line was because he had not only mastered Marxism-Leninism, but had also continuously applied and developed it in practice. As our party has entered a new historical period, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who has adhered to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, has reaffirmed this ideological line and summarized its content as "seeking truth from facts, proceeding from facts in all cases, integrating theory with practice, and continuing to take practice as the criterion of truth." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 242) Thus, he has made it more complete and explicit.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The work style of seeking truth from facts we have advocated is a basic component part of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, when we advocate seeking truth from facts, we can never deviate from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought." (Ibid., p 243) This was also the importance Comrade Chen Yun emphasized when he advocated studying Marxism and philosophy. If we do not

understand the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we will be unable to seek truth from facts. Therefore, we must conscientiously study and master Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and conscientiously apply its stand, viewpoint, and method in observing and analyzing problems so that we can see through the appearance to the essence and find out the internal relations of things. Only thus, can we adhere to the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts.

In order to study and master the basic principles, besides reading the works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong, at present, it is necessary to concentrate our efforts on studying well the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." This is a brilliant work of our party in the new historical period, which applies the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism-Leninism to solve the practical problems in the Chinese revolution and construction. It is also a continuation and development of Mao Zedong Thought. The whole book is permeated with the spirit of seeking truth from facts. For example, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made a penetrating and incisive analysis of China's practical problems by applying Marxist theory. His words are simple, but the meaning is comprehensive and easy to understand. Therefore, to study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" will greatly benefit us in raising our theoretical level and adhering to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts.

2. We must adhere to correct political viewpoints and political orientation.

In order to seek truth from facts, we must never deviate from correct political viewpoints and political orientation. What are the correct political viewpoints and political orientation we should adhere to? They are the four basic principles put forward and expounded by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. The four basic principles are scientific conclusions drawn by the Chinese people from their personal experiences over the past more than 60 years, and products of seeking truth from facts. The core of these principles is the adherence to the socialist road and party leadership. To take the socialist road is an inevitable trend of the development of Chinese history, and the party is the force at the core leading our cause forward and a fundamental guarantee for the victory of our revolution and construction. The four basic principles are the fundamental principles for our country to become prosperous. They represent the orientation for the advance of our cause and the most fundamental fact in China today. Therefore, in pondering questions and doing things, we must always proceed from this fundamental fact. Only when we adhere to the four basic principles can we realistically reflect China's realities, grasp the essence of things, recognize and master the internal relations of things, and seek truth from facts. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Deviating from the four basic principles, we will have no root, no orientation, and will be unable to talk about the implementation of the party's ideological line." (Ibid., pp 242-243) This is a very profound exposition. If we deviate from the socialist system, from the people's democratic dictatorship, from the leadership of the Communist Party, and from Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, how can we talk about seeking truth from facts?!

The historical experiences of the Chinese revolution and construction prove that both "leftist" and rightist mistakes, which run counter to the four basic principles, have deviated from the path of China's social development. They are not practical and realistic. We must continue to correct the "leftist" mistakes, but at present, the main task is to oppose the rightist mistakes, to oppose the corrosive influence of the decadent ideology of the exploiting classes, to eliminate spiritual pollution, and to solve the problem of weakness and laxity among leaders. Some people in the ideological and theoretical circles have talked about abstract humanism and the so-called alienation of socialism, saying that "alienation" exists in various fields in our socialist society, or even that the root of "alienation" is the socialist system itself. In reality, they are arousing the feeling of having no confidence in socialism, communism, and the leadership of the Communist Party. This runs counter to the four basic principles. If we allow it to continue to develop, it will inevitably bring about serious harm to our socialist system and the leadership of the Communist Party. We must grasp the essence and harmfulness of what they have said rather than letting it spread unchecked.

3. We must often go deep into the realities of life and attach great importance to investigation and study.

"Without investigation, one has no right to speak." "Without a correct investigation, one also has no right to speak." ("Collected Works of Mao Zedong on Rural Investigation," p 13) These are famous dictums of Comrade Mao Zedong. Our historical experiences tell us that without carrying out an investigation, especially a thorough and correct investigation, of the actual situation, subjective guidance will certainly emerge. As a result, we will commit "leftist" or rightist mistakes. Only when we often go deep into the realities of life and carry out correct investigation and study can we find out about the real situation, work out correct policies and principles, and seek truth from facts. Comrade Mao Zedong always advocated carrying out investigation and study of the real situation of society and was opposed to subjectivism, which is divorced from reality and does things merely according to past experiences or proceeding from instructions in books. By combining the universal tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, he creatively solved the problem of which road to follow in the Chinese revolution and led the revolution to victory. In the new historical period, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put forward the task of building socialism with Chinese character and made a series of correct and important policy decisions to solve many important problems in the construction of the four modernizations. All this could not have been done if he had not often gone deep into the realities of life, attached great importance to investigation and study, and proceeded from China's national situation.

Investigation and study are necessary conditions for seeking truth from facts. We must attach great importance to and be good at investigation and study, and must conscientiously and concretely analyze various situations, especially the new situation, so as to make our subjective recognition conform to the objective realities. However, some comrades have

neglected this. They are doing things according to their own imaginations or by blindly copying the experiences of other people and mechanically conveying instructions of the higher authorities. Therefore, they are unable to seek truth from facts. In our construction of the four modernizations, we must carry out investigation and study in a conscientious manner and find out about the real situation in our own district, department, and unit, so that we can proceed from realities and realistically solve new problems. To this end, we must take resolute measures to overcome the leadership style and the subjectivist style of thinking, which are characterized by remaining on the surface rather than going deep into the realities of life. We must go deep among the masses and really do a good job of investigation and study so as to decide our work policies and methods. If we do not act in this way, we will certainly commit mistakes. Even leading cadres at important posts cannot be an exception.

In carrying out investigation and study, we also must have a correct stand, viewpoint, and method, otherwise, we will not be able to draw correct conclusions, and correctly implement the party's line, principles, and policies, and the leading organs will also be affected in realistically dealing with problems. Therefore, we must insist on using the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to carry out investigation and study in a correct way.

4. We must adhere to the principle of party spirit and be bold at upholding the truth.

In order to seek truth from facts under all circumstances, we must have a firm party spirit of upholding truth and correcting mistakes and the courage of struggle. This party spirit and courage stem from the firm confidence in the socialist and communist cause and a high sense of responsibility toward the fundamental interests of the party and the people. In their practice, people may have correct and accurate or incorrect and inaccurate understandings of objective things and may have some differences in their understanding. This is a normal phenomenon in the process of recognition. However, it usually leads to nonunanimity in action. At the beginning, correct and accurate understandings may not be immediately accepted by people, or may even be opposed by some people. Therefore, it is never plain sailing to uphold truth, correct mistakes, and correctly implement the party's line, principles, and policies. There will inevitably be struggles. Thus, we are required to adhere to the principle of party spirit, act in accordance with realities rather than books and instructions of the higher authorities, and have the spirit of utter devotion for truth. Only thus can we realize seeking truth from facts.

During the period of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong's correct propositions were opposed by both right and "leftist" erroneous ideas at the beginning, and he himself was also attacked for this. However, from beginning to end, Comrade Mao Zedong adhered to the principle of combining the universal tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and waged resolute struggles against both the right and "leftist" mistakes. Thus, his correct propositions were

gradually supported and accepted by all. At the Zunyi meeting in January 1935, Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership in the CPC Central Committee was established and, at the party's seventh national congress after the Yanan rectification, Mao Zedong Thought was accepted by the whole party and became the guiding ideology of the party. From this we can see that correct things have always been developing in the struggle against erroneous things, and that our victory was not easily won.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's fighting spirit and firm principle of party spirit are known by all. In his revolutionary practice, in order to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, he was never afraid of being dismissed from office or overthrown. When he resumed his work in 1975, the year when the "gang of four" was running wild, he boldly made an important policy decision on carrying out consolidation in all fields to counter the perverse acts of the "gang of four," and despite various obstructions and heedless of his personal safety, he earnestly practiced and implemented it on all fronts. As a result, although the policy decision enjoyed the support of the people, and remarkable achievements were made, Comrade Deng Xiaoping was again persecuted by the "gang of four." However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping continued to uphold truth and unswervingly kept up the struggle. When the "two whatevers" was in vogue, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, although in an unfavorable position, was also the first to oppose the "two whatevers," showing his indomitable revolutionary spirit. He pointed out that it was necessary to completely and accurately understand and master Mao Zedong Thought, resolutely correct the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution," set to right things which had been thrown into disorder on all fronts, restore and reestablish the party's ideological, political, and organizational lines, and realize a great historical change. Without a firm party spirit, without the courage of fighting for truth and daring to face danger, how could all this be achieved?

Under the circumstances of stability and unity, in order to seek truth from facts, it is also necessary to adhere to the principle of party spirit and have the courage of fighting for truth. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party has corrected its guiding ideology, worked out a series of correct line, principles and policies, and enforced party regulations and discipline. However, we must also see that the pernicious influence of the 10 years of internal disorder has not yet been completely eliminated, the rotten ideologies of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes and the traditional forces of old habits still exist, and the bad habits of individualism, small-group mentality, anarchism, and bureaucratism still seriously exist among some people. Therefore, it is by no means an easy job to adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts. There will be struggles or even dangers. Take the present organizational reform for example. It is not easy to realistically change the knowledge and age structure of the cadres' ranks. Of course, most people said that they are in favor of this reform, but there are also some people who do not favor it, saying that it is not good. Therefore, in order to carry out the reform successfully, we must continue to display a high sense of responsibility toward the people and the socialist cause and must not be afraid of taking risks and being criticized.

Otherwise, the organizational reform will be left unfinished. In China's history, there have been quite a few people with lofty ideals who have dared to face realities, carry out reforms, and practice new policies. Some of them even sacrificed their lives for their lofty ideals. So, without an unselfish and fearless fighting spirit, the reform cannot be successful.

5. We must establish and carry out a good organizational system and work system.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Under a good system, bad people cannot do whatever they like; under a bad system, good people cannot do good deeds to the full, or may even go to the opposite." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 293) During the 10 years of internal disorder, the leadership system, organizational system, work system, and other fine traditions of the party and the state were seriously sabotaged, an atmosphere characterized by arbitrariness and being undemocratic was in vogue, and inner-party life was extremely abnormal. In the first 2 years immediately following the smashing of the "gang of four," this situation remained unchanged. Under such circumstances, it was very difficult to seek truth from facts. At that time, we committed many mistakes in our work. Of the many reasons for these mistakes, the most important one was that we found it difficult to seek truth from facts due to the problems existing in our organizational and work systems. Under a bad system, the atmosphere was naturally stifling. People dared not ponder questions and do things in a realistic manner and dared not to tell the truth. They found it difficult to resist and criticize erroneous things, and even more difficult to correct them. Today, in order to do a good job in socialist modernization construction, it is necessary to rely on the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses of people. However, the initiative and creativeness of the masses must be mobilized and protected by good systems, which enable people to realistically ponder questions, air views, and carry out criticism and self-criticism, and to create a lively situation. Thus, whenever mistakes are committed, they are easier to be corrected. A central leading comrade once said that the greatest authority is science plus democracy. This was a very profound exposition. Stressing science means to seek truth from facts and act in accordance with the objective law, and stressing democracy means to follow the mass line, practice democratic centralism, sum up correct ideas and good experiences of the masses, and give full play to their initiative, enthusiasm, and pioneering spirit. Only thus can we implement well the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and do a good job in the construction of the four modernizations.

When we emphasize seeking truth from facts, our purpose is not only to make some theoretical researches. Our main purpose is to adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts more effectively in our practice of building socialism with distinctive Chinese features. In our province, this refers to proceeding from Jiangxi's realities and develop our economy at the highest possible speed. At present, in comparison with the advanced provinces and cities, Jiangxi Province lags behind. Many comrades are anxious about this. We must guide them to conscientiously implement the

ideological line of seeking truth from facts, profoundly analyze the economic situation of our province, gain a clear orientation in their work, and do well in the construction of the four modernizations in our province. Since the founding of the PRC, great development has been achieved in Jiangxi's national economy. An initial base for industrial and agricultural production has been formed and the material and technological foundation has been greatly strengthened. However, the economic structure is not reasonable enough and agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry are developing in a disproportionate way. Agriculture has been of a single-product economic structure, with very little development of a diversified economy. In industry, as the development of heavy industry has been over-emphasized, the consumer goods industry has been developing slowly. Thus, financial income has been affected, resulting in a shortage of funds, which has in turn restricted the development of the national economy in Jiangxi. This situation cannot be easily changed within a short period of time. However, we must not be content with things as they are and be willing to lag behind. Instead, we must adopt positive measures, widely mobilize the masses, and make profound investigations and study so that we can work out strategies for Jiangxi's economic development in light of realities and promote our economy as soon as possible. There are many favorable conditions for us. Provided we have confidence, we will surely achieve our aim. In agriculture, we must make full use of the superiority of "six mountains, one lake, and cultivated land covering 20 percent of the provincial area" and try every possible way to paint beautiful "pictures of mountains and rivers" and write good "pastoral poems." On the premise that a steady growth of grain production is ensured, it is necessary to actively develop a diversified economy. In industry, it is necessary to make use of the existing foundation to develop local industries, so as to promote the development of the superiority in agriculture. It is necessary to quicken the development of the consumer goods industry with distinctive Jiangxi features and enable light and heavy industries to develop proportionately. In this way, Jiangxi's economy will be able to develop rapidly in accordance with objective laws. Provided that we take the basic spirit of "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" as our guide, conscientiously implement the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, mobilize and organize the people throughout the province, boost our spirits, keep forging ahead, make great efforts to achieve prosperity, and go on fighting without interruption, the construction of the four modernizations in Jiangxi Province will surely be developed more quickly and keep pace with the other provinces and cities of the country, and the objective of struggle put forth by the 12th CPC National Congress will surely be achieved successfully!

CSO: 4004/63

COMRADE MAO ZEDONG AND POETRY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 26 Jan 84 pp 33-36

[Article by Zang Kejia [5258 0344 1367]; passages within slantlines published underlined]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, proletarian revolutionary, and leader of the party and of the people of all our nationalities. His poems, which were extremely outstanding, are also loved and praised by the people of the whole country. Comrade Mao Zedong was a revolutionary and poet all in one. Shouldering heavy responsibilities entrusted to him by the party and the people, he gave his all to the revolutionary cause for more than half a century, but he never gave up poetry. It may be said that his poems, his concern for poetry, and his lifelong dedication to revolutionary practice all are closely connected with his inner world. After nationwide liberation, foreigners often remarked that it was a poet who won the new China. There is some truth in this. His faith in Marxism-Leninism was strong and his revolutionary will was firm and indomitable. At the same time, he had a passionate heart brimming with poetic sentiments.

In his youth, he studied assiduously and read extensively in his endeavor to make progress and find revolutionary truth. He developed a keen interest in poetry. The outstanding piece "Changsha"--in the rhythm of "Qin Yuan Chun" was written in 1925. He must have developed a liking for poetry long before this, for he could not have produced such a mature piece at his first attempt. With the passage of time and with changes in the revolutionary situation after 1925, burdened with pressing military duties, he had to spend all his time racking his brains to fight the enemy in adverse circumstances. In spite of this, he still firmly kept poetry within his grasp. He used poetry to express his magnanimous feelings and lofty ideals. Without paper and pen, he "completed on horseback" a number of poems on his journeys in the course of fighting. Poetry was more than just an interest to him, it was a way of expressing his true feelings. With the lofty aspirations of a revolutionary and the passion of a poet, he unfurled before our eyes a great picture of revolutionary history in some of his works which had fortunately escaped the flames of war and were published. These poems are both stimulating and inspiring. They show a high degree of unity of ideological content and artistic quality. They are also diverse in form and refreshing and vivid in language. These noble works of art not only

give us a profound education with their substance but are a source of aesthetic enjoyment.

Comrade Mao Zedong and other leading comrades of the party, such as Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Dong Biwu, Ye Jianying, and Chen Yi, could all write poetry. What is more, each had his own distinctive style. This is by no means fortuitous. Since their youth, they had read widely and had traveled tens of thousands of miles in the course of revolutionary struggle. They all had rich experience and were good at expressing themselves. Comrade Mao Zedong told us in one of his talks: Short poems, as a genre, are like tools. I am quite at home with them and have therefore written quite a few. This shows that he wrote regularly and that he had read a lot of short poems. In his writings and talks, Comrade Mao Zedong often used allusions and idioms whose references even I had to look up, and I was an arts graduate some 40 to 50 years ago. As he said in his comment: "Even men of letters can be illiterate." I am not sure what kinds of classical writings Comrade Mao Zedong had read, but I do know that he had worked hard on classical poetry and had abundant knowledge. At our meeting, he said: They gave me a copy of "The Complete Ming Poems" and I found that some of Li Panlong's [2621 2372 7893] poems were rather well-written. He must have read the book very carefully if he could name the person. It can thus be seen that he did not merely rely on inspiration when he wrote poems. He was rich in his experience of life and was willing to work hard to acquire the skills of artistic expression. He learned from the strong points of our forefathers without being bound by them. He inherited these strong points and developed them to form his own unique style.

Comrade Mao Zedong was extremely serious about his works. Every piece of his work is the result of repeated improvements and revisions. In the line "I have overleaped four hundred twists to its green crest," the word "twists" [xuan 2467] is an improvement on the original "coils" [pan 4149]. Again, in the line "Warm the steep cliffs lapped by the waters of golden sand," the words "waters" [shui 3055] and "steep" [yun 7189] originally appeared as "waves" [lang 3186] and "hanging" [xuan 2038]. These are but three examples. They show that the poet was constantly trying to improve on his works. Comrade Mao Zedong was not a person who worked behind closed doors and indulged in self-admiration. He did not feel ashamed to ask and learn from his subordinates and he solicited opinions widely. In January 1957, he invited Comrade Yuan Shuipai [5913 3055 2143] and I to go and see him and had a 2-hour talk with us. After that meeting, he sent me advance copies every time he produced something new. I understood that he always treated others as equals and with frankness. So I dared to express my views frankly. Before "Six Poems" was published in RENMIN WENXUE [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE], I had the chance to read the manuscript and an interesting foreword to it, which began with the sentence: In such and such a year, completed on horseback [yu mou mou nian, yu mabei shang xie cheng di 0060 2673 2673 1628, 0060 7456 5154 0006 0774 2052 4104]. I deleted the first "yu" for him. On 24 April 1962, he sent me a letter of reply, saying: "Thank you for making the revisions for me with such great care. They were apt corrections and I fully agree with you. Will you be so kind as to go over the poems again /to see if further revisions are needed?"/ You see, the greater the man, the more amiable and modest he is.

Comrade Mao Zedong's virtue as a modest man was also shown in many other aspects. Before the publication of his "Poems," a trial edition was put out. In accordance with his suggestion, a meeting was held to discuss it. This meeting was attended by more than 20 persons, many of whom were responsible comrades of the Central Committee and leading figures in the field of literature and art. Comrade Mao Zedong penciled a note to them, saying: "Please give your comments, comrades." His poems were discussed in great earnest by the participants. I wrote 23 suggestions on a slip of paper after discussion with Comrade Ge Luo [5514 3157] and asked Comrade Tian Jiaying [3944 1367 5391] to pass it on. When "Poems of Mao Zedong" came off the press and I got hold of a copy, I noticed to my delight that revisions were made in 13 places as I suggested. They included changes in punctuation, wording, footnotes, and even whole sentences. I was both moved and touched. I was also filled with a sense of admiration.

In the summer of 1960, Comrade Shou Yang's article "The Road of Socialist Literature and Art in China" was published in RENMIN RIBAO. Later, at a congress of the Writers' Association, he said: My article originally included a long passage of Chairman Mao's poems, but it was deleted by Chairman Mao when he was going over the manuscript. This shows that Comrade Mao Zedong was very modest.

On 21 July 1965, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a letter to Comrade Chen Yi, who had earlier asked him to go over a poem for him. This letter on poetry was sincere, frank, and very touching. It began by saying frankly: "You asked me to go over your poem for you. I am afraid I cannot. I have never learned lushi [1774 6108] of eight lines with five characters to a line and have never written one in the past. ...I have written a number of lushi with seven characters to a line, /but there is not a single one that can be considered satisfactory./ ...I know a little about ci [6101] of seven-character lines interspersed with shorter or longer ones. Jianying is good at writing lushi with seven characters to a line and our revered Comrade Dong is good at lushi with five characters to a line. If you wish to learn lushi, you should ask them for advice." With an open mind and great sincerity, he praised the strong points of others and talked about his own shortcomings. What a breadth of mind this is!

It was entirely because of Comrade Mao Zedong's breadth of vision and moral integrity that, without apprehension, I boldly voiced my opinions about his poems. My heart was overflowing with poetic sentiments and I felt that we both lived in the same world of poetry.

Each of us has our own preference in relation to works of literature and art. Comrade Mao Zedong's favorite classical poets were Li Bo [2621 4101], Li He [2621 6320], and Li Shangyin [2621 0794 7148]. This is known to all. I think his creative works were influenced by these poets to some extent. Li Bo, who could write profusely after a drink or two, was a great romantic poet. Revolutionary romanticism was also the keynote of Comrade Mao Zedong's poems. If we read "Poems of Mao Zedong" closely and carefully, we will notice that although he had his feet firmly planted in reality, he set great store by revolutionary ideals. Some of his works used the

realistic technique. These included the first few poems in the collection, namely, "Changsha," "The Warlords Clash" and "New Year's Day." A great many of his poems have a strong flavor of revolutionary romanticism about them. Particularly noticeable is "Reply to Li Shuyi"--in the rhythm of "Die Lian Hua." Its way of mourning a martyr is rarely seen in any age. It is indeed a unique style. Every time I read it, I was reminded of the poetic style of Li Bo and Li He. When we read Comrade Mao Zedong's poems, we can feel that he was trying hard not to fall into mediocrity and giving scope to his imaginative power to make his works both profound and original. This is probably the influence of Li He and Li Shangyin. There is also a trace of the style of Xin Qiji [6580 2757 4014] in some of his poems.

When Comrade Mao Zedong was reading a collection of poems entitled "Ci Zong" [6101-4844], he used pens of three colors to mark his favorite titles with small circles and his favorite lines with dots. This collection had been reprinted. When I learned about this from a friend, I did the same on my copy of "Ci Zong." It seemed that the bold and unconstrained poems by patriotic poets like Xin Qiji and Zhang Yuangan [1728 0337 1626] got more small circles than others. Comrade Tian Jiaying told me on the phone that the opening line of a certain poem by Comrade Mao Zedong was a deliberate imitation of "Nostalgic Thoughts From the Beigu Pavilion in Jingkou"--in the rhythm of "Yong Yu Le" by Xin Qiji. Comrade Mao Zedong also drew small circles round the works of Yue Fei [1471 7378] and Wen Tianxiang [2429 1131 4382], as well as poems by less well-known poets like Wang Jian [3769 8966], whose works are unrealistic in ideological content but quite appealing in their artistic expression. He was also quite fond of Jiang Jie [5592 2212] and Li Qingzhao [2621 3237 3564]. He had his personal preferences, but when he commented on poets and their works, he did not reject ideas different from his own or pass judgment according to his own likes and dislikes. On matters of artistic appreciation and borrowing, he was broadminded and extended the same treatment to all. His bearing and breadth of vision were worthy of esteem. In 1957, he told us without mincing words that he did not care much for the poems of Du Fu [2629 3940]. But when he visited Du Fu's former lodging in Chengdu, and in his letter to Comrade Chen Yi, he gave Du Fu a just and fair assessment as a critic should.

Comrade Mao Zedong never systematically published any theoretical essays on poetry, but from his creative practice and from his letters and remarks, one may be able to see his views on questions relating to poetry. In his letter to Comrade Chen Yi on poetry, he spoke positively of the "majestic" quality of Comrade Chen Yi's poems. At the same time, he pointed out: "But they do not quite measure up to the formal requirements of lushi. With lushi one must pay attention to level and oblique tones. Poems which do not conform to the tonal patterns are not lushi. I think neither of us have quite crossed the threshold, so to speak, when it comes to writing lushi." This apparently casual remark touched on the question of the relationship between content and form. Comrade Mao Zedong had discussed this in great detail in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." In the same letter, he brought up another important question, the question of "thinking in terms of images," in creative writing. Theoreticians and writers of past generations had discussed this before and demonstrated their point in their creative

works. Still, what Comrade Mao Zedong said had its immediate significance. He said: "In writing poetry, one must think in terms of images and must not say what comes into one's mind as in verse." He also stressed the need to use similes and metaphors. For decades, there has been a serious tendency to write prose-style poems. Abstract theorizing and direct expression of emotions have reduced the vividness and appeal of poems, so that one can neither visualize the images nor hear the echo when one reads them. Regarding the move to the prose style in writing poetry, he had this to say about poetry in the Tang and Song Dynasties. He objected to Han Yu's [7281 1937] method of writing poetry in the prose style. He said: "In the Song Dynasty, most people did not understand the need to think in terms of images in writing poetry, a rule observed by Tang poets. For this reason, their poems read very blandly." It was perhaps a bit unfair for him to say this. The people of the Song Dynasty wrote poetry in the prose style for historical reasons. It was the need of the times to change the prevailing mood of the late Tang Dynasty and to work hard at developing a new style of their own. It also had something to do with the movement in the early Song Dynasty to revive the classical literary style. While opinions regarding Tang and Song poems vary, there is no denying that the Song Dynasty produced a number of great master poets. Many of their outstanding works are still being recited after this many centuries. Today, one can get a rough idea of what Song poetry was like from "A Selection of Song Poems" alone. We cannot say that the poems of Su Shi [5685 6524] of the Northern Song Dynasty and Lu You [7120 3266] of the Southern Song Dynasty lacked imagery and were written in a prose style. Although he appeared to be partial in the assessment of Tang and Song poems, Comrade Mao Zedong's call to "think in terms of images in poetry" was both significant and timely. It was aimed at rectifying the undesirable practices prevalent at that time and at calling people's attention to the question of using imagery in poetry.

Comrade Mao Zedong wrote poetry in the old style. Although he had not read much free verse written in the vernacular, he was concerned about its development. At the end of the long talk I mentioned earlier, he walked with us to the main entrance of the Qinzhen hall. He stood there, waving farewell and bidding us: "Send a copy of your works to me."

With his permission, SHI KAN POETRY carried, in its inaugural issue in January 1957, 18 of his poems. People all queued up to buy the magazine and this became a much-told tale. This inaugural issue also carried a fairly lengthy letter addressed to me and the editorial committee. Apart from wishing POETRY success, he said: "While free verse written in the vernacular should constitute the mainstay, poetry written in the old style should also be allowed. However, the latter should not be encouraged among young people because this form of literature puts our mind in a noose and is also difficult to learn." You see, he wrote old-style poetry himself, but he did not encourage young people to do the same. Although he had not directly criticized the shortcomings of free verse written in the vernacular in his talk with us, we got the impression that he disapproved of this form of literature because it was too loose and free. On the other hand, he seemed to think quite highly of folk lyrics. He said: The "Book of Odes" contained verses with four characters to a line. Later came verses with

five or seven characters to a line. Present-day folk lyrics have seven characters and four stresses to a line. This conforms to the needs of the times. He said that free verse written in the vernacular should be succinct in language and should be neat and more or less regular in rhyme. In other words, it is necessary to develop free verse written in the vernacular on the basis of classical poetry and folk lyrics. On the one hand, we must inherit the fine traditions of poetry, including the traditions of classical poetry and revolutionary poetry since the 4 May movement. On the other hand, we must conform to the needs of the times in developing free verse written in the vernacular. He also said: The reform of free verse written in the vernacular is difficult and would take at least 50 years. It is indeed difficult to find a principal form acceptable to all. The process of trying out, developing, and finalizing a new form is protracted and governed by conditions. Take lushi for example. Shen Yue [3088 4766] of the Liang Dynasty first came up with the division of sounds into four tones, which were later subdivided into the level and the oblique tones. Lushi as a form of literature was tried out by poets of the early Tang Dynasty and was not finalized until the heyday of the Tang Dynasty. The finalizing of form should by no means impose restrictions in content or cause the poet to lose his individuality. Using the same form, excellent poems have been written in successive generations over the past 1,000 years and more. The fixed form has not impaired the development of the art of poetry.

Comrade Mao Zedong also referred to the question of free verse written in the vernacular in his letter to Comrade Chen Yi on poetry. This shows his concern for the existing situation and future development of free verse. In his letter, he said: "In the future, it will possibly draw nourishment and formal features from folk lyrics and develop into a kind of new-style poetry which has an appeal for the reading public."

From Comrade Mao Zedong's words, I got the impression that he was aware of two important points. First, he mentioned "the reading public." This refers to the mass nature of poetry. In other words, free verse written in the vernacular must go beyond the circle of intellectuals. Second, he praised folk lyrics time and time again. This is probably because folk lyrics are relatively neat in form and are written in the vernacular and popular style. To sum up, he hoped that free verse written in the vernacular would become national in form--to draw nourishment and formal features from classical poetry and folk lyrics, to reflect the spirit of the times and the great reality of socialism in its ideological content, and eventually to become the popular literature of the whole nation. The fact that he said "develop into a kind of new-style verse or poetry" instead of "new-style poetry" gives us much food for thought.

Comrade Mao Zedong was a revolutionary poet of the proletariat. With his poems, he expressed his lofty ideals and magnanimous feelings, and enhanced the morale of the people of China and the whole world. He probed into and commented on classical poetry. At the same time, he was also concerned about the existing situation and future development of free verse written

in the vernacular. He really had given much thought to poetry. It seemed that there was an indissoluble bond between him and poetry. Although he had to attend to a myriad of state affairs every day, he always had poetry in mind. On the occasion of his 90th birthday, I am thinking with longing and gratitude of the great contributions he made to poetry.

CSO: 4004/64

INITIAL PROBING INTO THE QUESTION OF INTEGRATION OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF THE SHANGHAI ECONOMIC ZONE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 26 Jan 84 pp 37-41

[Article by Jiang Chenglong [3068 2052 7893], Wang Peijun [3769 0160 0689], Sun Zhongyi [1327 0112 1744] and Yue Junyan [1471 0193 1750]]

[Text] In accordance with the decision of the State Council, a Shanghai Economic Zone has already been set up, which consists of 10 cities and 55 counties under the cities in the Chang Jiang delta area including Suzhou, Wuxi, Changzhou, Nantong, Hangzhou, Jiaxing, Huzhou, Ningbo, and Shaoxing.

The textile industry is one that has a long history, great economic strength, and great potential to be tapped in the Shanghai Economic Zone. A priority task at present is to reform the economic management system, break away from the fetters of the separation and blockade between "departments" and "areas," establish economic combinations, develop the economic networks of the textile industry in the economic zone, give full play to the role of central cities in organizing production and circulation and thus enable the economic management system to adapt to the demand of the development of social productive force.

I. History and Present Situation

As far back as 4,700 years ago in the Neolithic Age, silk cloth was already being produced in the Chang Jiang delta area. Because of the vigorous development of the textile industry in the Tang Dynasty, after the South Song Dynasty, this area became our country's textile foreign trade center. During the Song and Yuan Dynasties, a "silk route" on the sea took shape with Ningbo as its starting point, Japan and Korea as its eastern destinations, and the Mediterranean and the coast of Africa as its western destinations. This area was also the birthplace of China's modern textile industry. In 1882, a bureau of mechanized textile industry run by businessmen under government supervision was set up in Shanghai. In 1890, it formally went into operation and was renamed the Huasheng General Textile Plant. This was the first mechanized weaving and spinning mill in our country. By the end of the 1880's and the beginning of the 1890's, such factories emerged one after another in Wuxi, Changzhou, Nantong, Suzhou, Ningbo and other cities. At that time, the 400,000 spindles of the country

were mainly concentrated in this area. Moreover, our country's first textile industry institute was set up in Nantong and a number of textile personnel were trained there. By the initial period of the founding of the PRC, 87 percent of the nation's cotton spindles, 90 percent of its wool spindles, 100 percent of its jute spindles and 90 percent of its silk reeling machinery were in the coastal area. Most of them were in the Chang Jiang delta area and Shanghai municipality alone had 47 percent of the cotton spindles and 70 percent of the wool spindles of the nation.

At present, there are about 19 million cotton spindles throughout our country, of which about 4.1 million (not including the spindles that are being added to some enterprises and those in the enterprises of which the subordinate relation has not yet been decided upon) or 22 percent are in the Shanghai Economic Zone. The zone's 230,000 wool spindles account for more than 30 percent of the about 750,000 wool spindles of the nation. Its silk cloth output accounts for about 60 percent of the national output and its export of silk goods account for 70 to 80 percent of that of the nation.

In judging the situation in the development of the textile industry in the 10 cities in the Shanghai Economic Zone, there are the following major general characteristics:

1. Most of the cities have full sets of technology and can spin and weave cotton, wool, jute, silk and synthetic fibers. They have set up, to a different extent, integrated systems of textile industry. This shows that all these cities have relatively great capacity of textile industry.
2. The textile industrial output value accounts for a relatively great percentage in the gross industrial output value of these cities. The figures are roughly from 20-50 percent. Textile goods are their main export. These cities generally export more than 50 percent of their textile products.
3. Their economic results are relatively satisfactory. Their labor productivity is above the national average. For example, in Shanghai and Nantong, the output value for each worker and staff member is as high as 30,000 yuan, the lowest output value in the cities was 18,000 yuan. The ratio of before-tax profit to output value is more than 20 percent in most of these cities.
4. Most of these cities have a number of backbone enterprises and technological work forces and are relatively more capable of satisfying the demand of modern production.

Some cities pay relatively great attention to the training of new technical personnel. In addition to the textile or silk textile institutes that have already been set up in Shanghai, Suzhou, and Hangzhou, a textile industry department has been set up in Wuxi Light Industry Institute and Nantong plans to reestablish a textile institute on the basis of the existing textile vocational school there.

There are also various distinguishing features in the textile industry in these cities:

1. These cities differ in the abundance and shortage of their resources. Generally speaking, Shanghai Economic Zone is basically an area of textile industry of the processing type and it depends on the whole nation for its supply of energy and raw materials. Judging by the amount of resources that these cities have, these cities can be classified into three categories: 1) Areas with rich resources such as Nantong which produces lots of silk, jute, and sheep's wool and particularly cotton most of which is sold to other areas because the city produces much more cotton than it needs, and Huzhou and Jiaxing which produce large amounts of silk and sheep's and rabbit's wool--the silk and sheep produced in Huzhou are well-known in the world; 2) areas with a shortage of resources such as Shanghai, Suzhou, Changzhou and Wuxi, which only produce a little cotton and silk and basically depend on other areas for the supply of raw materials; and 3) areas that basically have enough resources for themselves such as Hangzhou which produces roughly enough silk, jute and cotton to supply its own needs and Ningbo and Shaoxing which are basically the same as Hangzhou.

2. They differ in the age and modernization of their equipment. In this aspect, these cities can roughly be divided into two categories: 1) The cities that have originally had a good foundation, such as Shanghai and Wuxi where there are some enterprises with very old equipment which urgently need renewal and transformation; and 2) the cities that originally had a relatively weak foundation. During the past few years quite a lot of modern equipment has been introduced into these cities. For example, Nantong has introduced full sets of new equipment for the spinning, weaving, dyeing and knitting of cotton and woolen textile goods. In Changzhou six full sets of production sections have taken shape to produce cotton khaki, synthetic print, corduroy, knitted and dyed textile goods, woolen textile goods and instruments and meters for the textile industry. The general knitting factory there particularly ranks first for its advanced equipment and large factory site not just in the Shanghai Economic Zone, but in the entire country. In Ningbo, by 1984, more than 50 percent of the looms will be sheeting looms. Of course, viewed as a whole, there is still a heavy task for the transformation of the textile industrial technology and equipment in the zone.

3. They differ in the competitive edge of their products. Each of these cities has its own line of production and products with special features. Generally speaking, Shanghai has a comprehensive competitive edge. Besides Shanghai, Hangzhou, Jiaxing, Huzhou, Suzhou, and Shaoxing rank first for their silk and jute products and Changzhou, Wuxi, Nantong and Ningbo rank first for their cotton and woolen products. To be more specific, Changzhou's corduroy, velveteen, and khaki sell very well both at home and abroad; Wuxi's fine woolen goods, plastic shuttles, and particularly yarn-dyed fabric are enthusiastically sought throughout the country and exported to more than 50 countries and areas; and the key products such as Nantong's "Jinkuixing" brand (now Chaoyang brand) No 3036 and "Jingxing" brand No 2020 fine cloth, Suzhou's four kinds of satins and taffeta, Hangzhou's fine silk

jacquard weave, Hangluo's, Huzhou's and Jiaxing's white silk, Ningbo's children's blankets and Shaoxing's fine silk fabric all have their distinguishing features.

From the point of view of production technology, Huzhou is good at silk reeling, Suzhou and Hangzhou are good at weaving pure silk fabric, Nantong has a competitive edge in its cotton textiles, Wuxi is developed in its woolen textile industry and Changzhou is relatively advanced in its technology of post-dyeing process.

In short, judging by the resources, equipment, technology, market, labor productivity, economic results and other basic economic factors in the Shanghai Economic Zone, there have been conditions for developing professional cooperation and combined production of various distinguishing features in the light of the local conditions and with rational division of labor in order to give play to their favorable factors. If we proceed from the overall situation of the economic zone, formulate unified plans, make rational layouts, satisfactorily organize the professional cooperation and economic combination and vigorously develop the textile industry in the Shanghai Economic Zone, the textile industry in the zone will achieve even greater economic results and play a greater role in the development of the textile industry of the entire nation.

However, there are many shortcomings in our country's existing economic management system, which hinder the further development of the textile industry in the Shanghai Economic Zone. The major shortcomings are:

- 1) Our departments are separated from one another and each of them constitutes an independent system. This is mainly shown in the dislocation in the relationship between the domestic and foreign sales in the textile industry. This problem is particularly outstanding in the production of the textile products for export, the business of foreign trade, and the introduction of equipment and technology.
- 2) There is a serious barrier between areas which blocks the way of circulation. The division of the responsibility for managing textile industry in accordance with the division of administrative system and areas severed the inherent relationship between the enterprises, economic sections, and areas in the zone. As a result, each of these enterprises, sections, and areas does things in its own way, makes investments blindly and thus has given rise to duplicated construction. They are also on their guard against each other in carrying out technological cooperation.
- 3) Our departments are separated from our areas. As a result, an integrated advantage for the development of the zone's textile industry cannot emerge in the domestic economic activities of the Shanghai Economic Zone. In the international market, those within the zone sometimes scrambled with one another for the market share and thus profited foreigners.

In order to raise economic results and develop the textile industry of the Shanghai Economic Zone at a high speed, we must put an end to the above-mentioned backward malpractice, reform the old economic management system, and satisfactorily carry out economic combination within the economic zone. This is the orientation for the development of the textile industry in the Shanghai Economic Zone.

II. Tentative Plan for the Integration

Concerning the issue of the integration of the textile industry in the Shanghai Economic Zone, through investigation and study, we put forth a tentative general plan for all people to study and discuss.

1. We should give play to the favorable factors and form a network.

In general, big cities have their own favorable factors, medium-sized cities each have their own favorable factors, and each county town has its own favorable factors. Therefore the whole economic zone can be formed into an economic network that will facilitate giving play to all the respective favorable factors and an integrated favorable factor.

Viewed separately, the enterprises in various cities and counties have their own professional favorable factors or their own favorable factors in their products. We should give key positions to those in which there are favorable factors.

From the viewpoints of their products, those that can produce a certain line of products with fine quality should focus on producing high-grade products, in other words, "No 1 key" and "No 2 key" products.

2. We should carry out professional division of labor and choose those with favorable factors as centers.

The economic zone as a whole should have all five sections of the textile industry, its technology should form into sets and it should produce all varieties of products. However, in arranging the layout of the economic zone, we should put an end to the practice of each area wanting to become self-contained with all equipment, thus dispersing resources. We should give play, under unified planning, to the favorable factors of all cities and trade sections, carry out professional division of labor, make rational layouts, choose those with favorable factors as centers and thus develop professional cooperation and combined production.

In choosing those areas with favorable factors as centers, we must proceed from the geographic surroundings, natural resources, technological equipment, traditional favorable factors, water and land communications, volume of market and foundation of management, and make a comprehensive analysis of all these factors and thus decide on a rational layout. For example, besides Shanghai, Wuxi, and Changzhou, Nantong should be regarded as base area that should have priority in developing cotton textile industry because of its relatively rich cotton resources. In addition to developing its own sets of technology for further processes in the manufacturing of cotton textile goods, Nantong can supply large amounts of semifinished products to Shanghai, Changzhou and Wuxi for further processing. Because of its abundant resources of the raw materials of synthetic fiber, Shanghai should give up that industry which uses natural fiber as raw material to the areas with certain industrial foundation and relatively satisfactory technological and managerial standard. Its cotton textile industrial section

should be switched from the structure of mainly processing cotton yarn and fiber to the structure of mainly processing synthetic fiber. Concerning the production of pure cotton textile goods, it should develop in the direction of producing high-grade goods of fine quality in order to ensure the satisfaction of the demand for high-grade key products in the international market. Another example is that Shanghai, Suzhou and Hangzhou should be regarded as silk textile industrial centers.

In order to prevent the malpractice of blind investment and duplicated construction in rearranging the layout, we should adopt the method of combining technological transformation with the transference of equipment so as to facilitate tapping production potential and expanding production capacity.

3. We should enable each area to have its own key products and form all areas into an organic whole.

A satisfactory practice of choosing those areas with favorable factors as centers will surely give rise to the production of key products with various distinguishing features. What we call key products are of course, a relative concept that denotes various strata of products including final products, semifinished products, and products of fine quality among products of the same kind. For example, the ancient style brocade produced in Suzhou and Hangzhou is a key product, the white silk of fine quality produced in Huzhou is also a key product and so is the corduroy produced in Changzhou.

Choosing areas with favorable factors in the economic zone as centers and producing key products with various kinds of distinguishing features for export will greatly sharpen our competitive edge in the international market. Therefore, in carrying out professional division of labor, we should form various areas into complete systems of production in accordance with their technological process, and satisfactorily carry out professional cooperation and combined production in order to implement the principle of "combining those at home to compete with those abroad."

Moreover, at present in our country, we generally regard cloth and yarn as the final products of textile industry and this is in fact a concept that belongs to the initial period of modern industry. Modern garment industry has already passed the stage of the manual production method, therefore, whether in view of the current situation in the textile industry or in view of its development trend, garments and cloth for family decoration will become the final products of our textile industry with each passing day. In view of this development, in order to smooth the links of the whole production process of the textile industry, the need for making garments and decorative cloth should be taken into consideration in deciding the width of the cloth, and the dyeing and jacquard weave process should be adapted to the change in the fashion of garments and decorative cloth. When garment production is included in textile industry, there will also be corresponding reform in the management system. Changzhou city has already begun to form an integrated textile production line with garments

as its final products and has set up garment workshops in its dyeing factories. Ningbo also plans to do so because its garment industry has traditional favorable factors. This is an attempt at a significant breakthrough. Now, it is imperative to set up in a trial manner a few integrated textile and garment production lines in order to sum up experience and popularize this practice.

4. We should form both combination entities and loose cooperative relations.

Under the situation whereby there is no change in the division of administrative areas and subordinate relations of our enterprises, there should be diverse forms of the textile industrial combination and cooperation between the enterprises, professions, and areas in the economic zone. However, to sum up, there are only two types, namely, the formation of combination entities and the establishment of loose cooperative relationship.

The formation of combination entities is the orientation. The textile industrial combined enterprises in the economic zone must be economic entities, which organize the production among themselves in accordance with the principle of professionalization while the units under these enterprises should have both the responsibility to execute internal contracts and the power to carry out independent management. Under the current conditions, we can set up two kinds of combined enterprises: 1) The "external combination type" in which members make joint investment and technological cooperation and share profits according to an agreed percentage; and 2) the "internal combination type" in which the labor, financial and material resources are managed in a unified manner and the output value, products, and profits are shared according to agreed contracts. On the other hand, loose cooperation is mainly technological cooperation, the supply of raw materials, and the processing of products by contracts.

Some comrades hold that at first, loose cooperation should be carried out, and a combination entity will be formed later. We are of the opinion that under the condition of maintaining the existing economic system unchanged, it is, in fact, very difficult to achieve any effect in harmonizing the relationships between departments and areas and developing the economic network in the textile industry of the economic zone, if we only carry out loose cooperation. Therefore we hold that it is better to adopt as our major form the formation of combination entities. As for the steps of the combination, we can gradually develop from the combination of the "external combination type" to the "internal combination type" and from the combined production and management for a few specific products between a few backbone enterprises to the combined management between different trades. At the same time, among those enterprises which are not provided with the conditions or are as yet unwilling to join combination enterprises at present, we should carry out diverse forms of loose cooperation. By so doing, we can relatively quickly achieve the effect of combination as well as break away from the restriction of the separation between departments and areas.

5. Support should be given level by level and interests should be shared equally.

All members of the combined enterprises in the economic zone should have a unified relationship of common interests and each of them should have its relatively independent economic interests. We should implement the principle of sharing interests equally. In order to promote the development of the textile industry in the economic zone, we should proceed from the interests of the whole situation and give help level by level. In the sphere of technology, equipment, funds, market information, training of personnel and management experiences, central cities should help medium-sized cities, medium-sized cities should help small cities, and the enterprises in lead positions should help the enterprises in less important positions. Thus we will gradually popularize the technology and management experiences of the advanced cities and enterprises in the areas and enterprises all over the economic zone.

Between the enterprises and professions that have joined a combination entity, there should be both a socialist comradely relationship of mutual help and cooperation and a relationship that embodies the principle of socialist material interests. For this, we can adopt the following actual methods: 1) Enterprises retain a percentage of output value and output in accordance with the contracts; 2) the after-tax profits should be divided within the combined enterprise in accordance with the percentage of investment of its members, while there must be corresponding and rational compensation for technical investment, transference and service; and 3) we should solve the contradictions related to the irrational transference prices between members of the combined enterprise by means of the levy of the state readjustment tax or by means of fixing accounting transference prices through internal consultation.

6. Foreign trade should be carried out in a unified manner while domestic trade should be carried out flexibly.

Whether in combined entities or loose cooperation in the textile industry of the Shanghai Economic Zone, we must really carry out the principle of "combining those at home to compete with those abroad." During the past 2 years, we have adopted the method of conducting foreign trade separately in many areas. As a result, we have neither combined those at home nor competed with those abroad. On the contrary, we have competed with those at home and given up our market share to foreigners and thus weakened ourselves and let foreigners profit by our malpractice. We are of the opinion that the economic zone should be a unified port and conduct a combined management of foreign trade. The management of foreign trade should be carried out in a unified manner at Shanghai as the center of foreign trade and the volume of goods should be divided up between various ports for handling according to the nature of the products and the length of distance of transportation. We should give full play to the role of Ningbo and Nantong ports in order to ease the pressure on Shanghai port. Meanwhile, the trade of traditional key products should be jointly managed by the production enterprises and foreign trade department. To harmonize the

economic relations between industry and foreign trade and between the foreign trade of different areas, we can adopt two methods: 1) The foreign trade departments are paid a progressive rate of service charge (or price margin). The foreign trade department makes public the export prices of the products to the enterprises and charges more service charge for higher selling prices and larger amounts of export and thus both the departments and the enterprises increase their income correspondingly. 2) We should allow the enterprises to retain a share of the foreign exchange they have earned and thus encourage them to introduce the necessary advanced technology and equipment.

Domestic trade should be carried out flexibly. The various areas can not only enter the part of market allocated to them according to historical tradition, but also can put their products of fine quality into the market of the entire economic zone and the whole country. Thus there will be competition in the combinations. This will not only be favorable for the development of a unified market throughout our country, but can also urge the enterprises to be concerned about the change in the demand in the markets, to attach importance to technical renovation and transformation, to increase the variety of their products and to improve the quality of their products so as to satisfy the demand resulting from production and the people's livelihood.

In short, it is imperative under the existing circumstances to set up combinations in the textile industry of the Shanghai Economic Zone. Under the superior conditions of our country's socialist system, through unified planning, rational layout and the adoption of effective measures, the comprehensive strong points of the textile industry of the Shanghai Economic Zone will certainly be used to the full and this will promote the development of the textile industry of the entire nation.

CSO: 4004/64

MAKE GREAT EFFORTS TO SAVE FUNDS FOR ADMINISTRATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 26 Jan 84 pp 41-42

[Article by Jing Ping [2529 1627]]

[Text] Saving funds for administration is one of the characteristics of the administrative organs of the socialist state. This is determined by the proletariat nature of the socialist state and its purpose of rendering service to the people. Almost all bourgeois revolutions in history have put forward the slogan of setting up a less expensive government; however, it is impossible for them to achieve it. This is because, like all states of the exploiting classes, the bourgeois state is an apparatus for a minority of people to oppress the majority. In order to maintain its own ruling status, the bourgeoisie spend large amounts of wealth extorted from the laboring people on maintaining varied and very large organs of suppression and exploitation, and on supporting a large number of bureaucrats and politicians. What they call a less expensive government is but a slogan to cheat the laboring people. The proletariat has founded its own state on the basis of breaking up the state organ of the bourgeoisie. This state serves the people, and its government should be the most economical. In analyzing the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out that it "banned the non-productive and criminal activities of the parasites of the state, and put an end to squandering large amounts of national products on supporting the devils of the state," "the commune began its work with the practice of economy on a large scale, with not only a political transformation, but also an economic one." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 416) Lenin also pointed out that "the requirement of setting up a less expensive government will be realized" only by the proletariat, and when the proletariat has fulfilled this requirement, it will be taking a big step toward the socialist transformation of the state." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 208)

Whether in the period of revolutionary war or in the stage of economic construction, our party has all along advocated the streamlining of organizations and saving funds for administration. This involves not only the maintenance of the revolutionary nature of the people's government, but also the saving of a large amount of manpower, material, and financial power to support the revolutionary war and economic construction. During the most difficult years in the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong

made great efforts to advocate better troops and simpler administration. Again, in the early 1950's, he proposed cutting by a large margin the funds for administration of state organizations as one of the three conditions of the fundamental change for the better of the economic condition at that time, and achieved rather great results. During the present stage of further readjustment of the national economy, saving funds for administration is still of very important realistic significance. Under the guidance of the correct principle of the CPC Central Committee, the achievements in economic work in recent years have been great, however, there are still quite a few problems still to be solved. For instance, the long-standing situation of dislocation in proportion has not been entirely solved, the scope of capital construction outside the plan is still on the high side, the control in the growth of consumption funds has been lost to some extent, the proportion of the financial revenue of the state in the national income is on the low side, and so on. These problems in the finance of the state gain expression in the appearance of deficits, the excess of expenditures over revenues, which are a factor of instability in the present economic work. In order to solve this problem and to strive for the fundamental change for the better of the financial and economic condition of the state, it is imperative to exert our efforts to save funds for administration, apart from further setting the economic relations in good order, raising the economic results in the circulation realm, and changing the condition of suffering deficits into one of making profits.

In recent years, there has been a considerable growth in administration funds in the country, of which some is rational expenditure necessary for the development of various undertakings; however, many items of expenditure are irrational. For example, some units have arbitrarily expanded their establishments, and have lost control of the increase of personnel; other units have gone in for ostentation and extravagance, vying for new-type automobiles, buying such high-class commodities as video recorders and radio-cassette players which are not exactly necessary in the office, and adopting the practices of giving banquets, sending presents, and of taking sightseeing tours of scenic spots at the expense of the state; and still other units have engaged in giving bonuses and subsidies indiscriminately, and so on. This is not only squandering the people's money, debasing the fine tradition of the party, and making the cadres divorced from the masses, but is also a way of corrupting our cadres. We must be determined to put a stop to such unhealthy tendencies. Some comrades have stressed that it is very difficult to save funds for administration with the increase of professional activities. These comrades have failed to see that between the funds for administration and the development of various undertakings of the state, and the amount of administration work, there does not exist the relation of growth in equal proportion. In some undertakings, a good job can be done all the same without any increase or with little increase in expenditures, so long as we improve our work method, strengthen our sense of responsibility, and complete the system of responsibilities; and there are other undertakings which can be done well with little expenditure, and cannot be done better even with greater expenditure. The fact that many units have not only saved funds in their expenditures, but have also raised their work efficiency when they have streamlined their organs,

overcome bureaucratism, and put a stop to circumlocution and disputes over trifles, will serve as proof. In fact, administrative units of various categories have the potential to save funds for administration. Once the link of saving funds for administration is grasped, it is possible to promote the streamlining of administrative organs, and the improvement of work and efficiency.

The key lies in the leadership as to whether an organization will save its funds for administration. A very important reason for the leading cadres of some organizations to have engaged in extravagance and waste without restraint is that they are seeking for their personal interests and those of a small group, pushing to the back of their minds the fundamental interests of the party and the people, forgetting the state of affairs of our country, the socialist modernization cause of our country, and that we should spend every cent on building our country. This is a bad tendency. The staff members at all levels of our state are servants of the people; they should all carry forward the tradition of linking closely with the masses, and sharing joys and sorrows with the people; they should all persist in the principle of practicing economy, and attach attention to saving funds for administration. This is of great significance not only in economy but in politics. This will enable our staff members to maintain the style of arduous struggle, strengthen their ability in differentiating and resisting the corruption of ideas of the exploiting classes, and set up close ties with the masses, leading them to better fulfill the party's task.

CSO: 4004/63

LEADERS MUST HAVE THE COURAGE TO TACKLE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 26 Jan 84 pp 43-44

[Article by Yuan Shi [0337 4238]]

[Text] To have the courage to grasp and manage affairs and to tackle difficult problems is an important factor in improving our leadership work style and methods at present.

Due to the 10 years of internal disorder, our party work style and general mood of society has been seriously undermined. There have been serious malpractices, such as substituting factionalism for party spirit, the wanton practicing of the "study of relationships," the acute development of individualism, liberalism, anarchism, and departmentalism, disobeying leadership, and violating discipline. Often these unhealthy trends and practices are directly related to the questions of whether the leading groups in these units have the courage to directly fight against them; whether the leading groups dare to deal with those who act shamelessly, who persist in being unreasonable, in dealing with whole people often meet with a rebuff, and with whom even devils are apprehensive of dealing and whether they dare to offend the behind-the-scenes backers, protectors, and supporters of those who are engaged in unhealthy practices. In short, the question of whether one has the courage to deal with difficult persons is a test for leaders. As far back as in 1975, in view of the problem of the weakness and laxity in quite a few leading groups that had been caused by the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed: "We must establish leading groups that have courage in doing their work." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 25) Now, new leading groups have already been set up in many organizations. This being the case, having the courage to deal with difficult people must be a fundamental requirement for these new leading groups.

Having the courage to deal with difficult persons is a method of grasping the principal contradictions in things. In a place or in doing something, if there is a difficult person who blocks the way of the progress, unless we overcome this obstacle, it will be difficult to do our work and to achieve our aim there. If there are some out-and-out egoists who are afraid of nothing and who have done things in violation of regulations and a common sense of decency, but whose cases no one dares to handle, and who

have thus drawn the attention of the people; unless we solve the problems related to them, we will not enable healthy trends to prevail over unhealthy ones. What should we do then? It is no use if we give in. The only good method for solving the problem is to resolutely tackle the problem, to stress this major issue, to grasp this key and to never cease making efforts until we have achieved our aim. Otherwise, it is difficult for us to effectively carry out the party's line and policies, do our work satisfactorily, or to open up new prospects.

The solution of the problem relating to the uncivilized loading and unloading work in Shuangchengbao railway station provides us with a good example. At first, the department at the upper level sent a work team to enforce discipline there, but with no effect. Later, it did the work conscientiously and dismissed the station director and CPC branch secretary. As a result, the problem was immediately solved. The station switched from being a typical bad example previously to now being a good one. At that time, the railway workers and cadres raised "wipe out our shame and achieve glory" as their slogan of action and wanted to correct their mistakes right at the place where they committed them. In the 5 following months, there were no losses or damage to the more than 1 million pieces of luggage they handled. In the past they were always reproached by people, but now they are always praised by the people, who now have confidence in them. The station and its staff and workers are still the same station and staff and workers, but their work now differs greatly from that in the past. The key to this change is whether the leadership has the courage to tackle the problem. If it has the courage to grasp and manage the work and to tackle difficult problems and regard the work of transformation as the key, it will be able to bring about an all-round change.

The reason we fail at present to put an end to unhealthy trends and practices and the reason a number of problems that should be solved cannot be solved in a timely manner and thus become serious obstacles to our work is because some of our comrades who are in leading posts are devoid of any courage and full of apprehension. What are they apprehensive of? 1) They are apprehensive of being dismissed from their official posts. 2) They are apprehensive of losing votes in elections. 3) They are apprehensive of being retaliated against by evil people. 4) They are apprehensive of losing face and offending people. As a matter of fact, if we are apprehensive of a small number of people who are engaged in unhealthy trends, we will inevitably offend most people who are anxious to eliminate the unhealthy trends. For a leader who acts in this way will inevitably and increasingly seriously lose the confidence of the masses and weaken the foundation for his work of leadership and thus become increasingly weak and powerless in directing the work. On the other hand, if we persist in giving first priority to the interests of the party and the people, and if, in dealing with any unhealthy practice of any person and in any place, we never depart from our principles or indulge the evildoers, and pay attention only to the truth in cases, not sparing the feelings of the people involved, no matter how complicated the cases are, we will be able to win the confidence and support of the broad masses of the people. Even those who have been engaged in unhealthy trends will be grateful to the party for educating and rescuing them once they become

enlightened. How can this be regarded as action that offends them? If they cling to their unhealthy trends, what will we lose by "offending" them? Some of the things that seem to be "hard" are in essence very soft or are fragile rather than being tough. As unhealthy trends have aroused the greatest indignation among the masses of the people, as long as the leadership has the courage to handle the cases in accordance with principle and overcome the unhealthy trends with the strength of healthy trends, people will support what the leaders do. That is why sometimes some stinking and hard things may collapse in a few minutes. Put simply, when you are weak, evildoers become strong, and when you are soft, they become hard. Therefore, as long as we adhere to principle and have the courage to fight against them, we will surely win the victory. Is there anything stronger in the world than our revolutionary spirit?

Of course, we should also be on our guard against misunderstanding the idea of having the courage to tackle difficult problems and regarding it as an idea that advocates the simplification of our work methods. Our methods in tackling difficult problems depend on the situation, conditions, timing, and circumstances. We do not advocate the doctrine of giving punishment indiscriminately to any offenders. As long as there are contradictions among the people, our work should be based on education and we should satisfactorily do profound and careful ideological and political work. We should never regard ideological work as a weak method. We have relied on our ideological work in reforming countless people. This being the fact, how can we think that we will not be able to solve the few difficult problems we are faced with by means of ideological work? There are diverse forms of lively ideological work. If one form does not work, we can try another. As long as we enlighten people with reasonable arguments and move them with sincere feelings, I am confident that some of them will come around. Of course, ideological work is not effective for all purposes. We must punish those who must be punished, give disciplinary punishment to enforce discipline, severely punish those who persistently refuse to reform. We must legally punish those who have violated the law. If we indulge or take a laissez-faire attitude toward the offenders, we will leave evils unchecked and suffer in the future.

In order to be able to have the courage to grasp, deal with, and tackle difficult problems, our leading groups should not only do their work soundly, refrain from empty talk and conscientiously plan matters they are appointed to be responsible for, but should also be strict with themselves, set examples by their own actions, correctly use their powers of office, serve the people wholeheartedly, work for the party loyally, and refuse to pursue any private ends or privileges. This is simply because one has to become strong if one wants to tackle difficult problems. In order to be able to support healthy trends and eliminate unhealthy ones in a bold and assured manner and to indomitably safeguard the systems of the party and state and the interests of the party and the people, it is imperative for our leading cadres to perfect their own thoughts and actions. If they wish other people to refrain from indulging in unhealthy practices, they should themselves take the lead in so doing, and if they wish other people to do something, they should first set examples by their own actions in doing it. Only by doing

their work without any intention of making a show can they maintain a stable footing and be able to make people follow their directives. By contrast, if they do not always work selflessly in the public interest and have faults, and thus give others reason to talk about them, they will be as weak as a patient with rickets and will not be able to speak loudly or to direct their work firmly.

In the face of various kinds of unhealthy trends, the state of affairs relating to our leading cadres at all levels determines and affects the results of our entire work and is vital to the questions of whether we are able to really implement the CPC Central Committee's line, principles, and policies and of whether or not our four modernizations program will be successfully carried out. To have the courage to grasp, deal with, and tackle difficult problems must become the common will and actions of all the members of our leading groups. Concerning those comrades in our leading groups whose minds are full of selfish ideas and personal considerations and who have serious problems in their party spirit, we should strengthen our work of criticizing and educating them in order to help them heighten their awareness. A leading group that first has courage in doing its work and that has satisfactorily striven to make itself revolutionary will surely be able to mobilize all the cadre ranks in the sphere under its charge, to make all its work develop prosperously, and to score outstanding achievements.

CSO: 4004/64

EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE ARTICLE 'ON HUMANISM AND ALIENATION'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 26 Jan 84 pp 45-58

["Cadres' Theoretical Studies" column; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Editor's note: This journal has written a number of annotations to help the readers in their study of Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article "On Humanism and Alienation." In this issue, 10 of them will be carried, the rest will be carried in this journal in succession.

/Moral Principles and Moral Norms/ Moral norms refers to the code of conduct which people should abide by as required by a certain society. For example, we often talk of being honest, of not telling lies, of refraining from theft and robbery, of showing respect to the aged and caring for the young, and so on, and all these are moral norms. The basic social ethics of the citizens, expressed in their love for the motherland, the people, labor, science, and socialism, as stipulated by the constitution of our country, are also moral norms.

Moral principles are the guiding principles and basis of moral norms, which include the views, ideals, and so on related to morality. Different systems of moral norms have different moral principles as their bases and guides. For example, the basic principle of Christian morality is "loving God"; the basic principle of bourgeois morality is individualism and egoism; and the basic principle of communist morality is collectivism.

Moral principles and moral norms exist to restrain people's conduct according to certain criteria, and to readjust the relation between the individual and society and mutual relations between men. They are different from laws; the latter are drawn up by the state and are compulsorily exercised by state power, while ethics and morality are exercised otherwise, maintained by reliance on the power of public opinion, on the faith formed in the hearts of the people, on their customs and traditions, and on the power of education.

Nevertheless, the roles of ethics, morality, and the law supplement each other in society.

Moral principles and moral norms belong to the social superstructure. Their nature is determined by that of the particular relations of production. Moral principles and moral norms possess an historical nature; they are characteristic of a class in a class society. Eternal moral principles and moral norms held good for all times do not exist. Marxists affirm the historical and class nature of moral principles and moral norms, but do not deny their inheritance and development.

/The Renaissance/ The period between the late 14th century and the 16th century witnessed the transition of Western Europe from feudalism to capitalism. At that time, the rising bourgeoisie was still weak in terms of power. Facing a powerful traditional force, they did not dare to stand up and fight for humanism against deism in the open. Therefore, they came to classical academic study, looking for ideological weapons from the Ancient Roman culture which they might use in the struggle against feudal culture and in founding their own philosophy, natural sciences, and literature and art, with man as the core. They held that this classical culture had long suffered from the suffocation and distortion of deism and the church. Therefore, they held aloft the banner of "reviving classical culture" in the struggle against deism and the church. That is why this period is called the "Renaissance" in history. The Renaissance was actually the initial expression, in the ideological realm, of the historical change of the capitalist mode of production's taking the place of the feudal mode of production. It had an obvious bourgeois nature, and was the inevitable outcome of the development of social productive forces.

The Renaissance involved a wide range of topics, including politics, philosophy, ethics, the arts, religion, and the natural sciences. It took humanism, the natural sciences and materialism, and religious reform as its main contents. The humanists advocated respect for "human dignity," "human realistic happy life," and for "human free will," while opposing the absolute rule of deism and the church. Representative of the humanists were Petrarch, Boccaccio, Desiderius Erasmus, Montaigne, and so on. Representative of natural sciences and the materialist ideological trend were Copernicus, Galileo, and Bruno. And there were such artists as Leonardo da Vinci, Raffaello, Michelangelo, and so on. They stressed the role of experiences and rationality, and attached importance to the study of the natural sciences. Martin Luther of Germany and Calvin of France were religious reformers. They opposed the traditional special privileges of the church and the overelaborate religious procedures, while advocating the founding of a less expensive church. As Engels said, the Renaissance "was the greatest, most progressive change of mankind, unprecedented in history." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 445)

/The Enlightenment Movement/ The Enlightenment Movement refers to the anti-feudal, ideological, and cultural movement of European thinkers between the 17th and 18th centuries. It was a mental preparation for the bourgeois revolution.

The heart of the theory of the Enlightenment Movement was to counter belief with rationality, and religion with science. Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and other thinkers of the Enlightenment Movement took rationality as a criterion to judge history, and as the only judge of all existing things. They took "liberty, equality, and fraternity," and "democracy, and the legal system" as weapons to fight against feudal dictatorship and special privileges. They required the founding of a rational state and society, and the merciless elimination of all that was contradictory to the eternal rationality.

France was the center of the Enlightenment Movement in the 18th century. The French Enlightenment Movement was affected by the British materialism of the 17th century, and was tinted with an obvious political coloring. It was a direct mental preparation for the French bourgeois revolution and played an active role in promoting the struggle against feudal and religious ideologies, and in the establishment of the capitalist system and regime. However, like all humanists of the Renaissance, the thinkers of the Enlightenment Movement were idealists in their social historical view. They regarded the masses as "mobs," and themselves as "saviors," and believed that through their enlightenment, all social malpractices would be eliminated and a reasonable society of rationality would be founded.

/Let Rationality Be the Judge/ This was the advocacy of the French thinkers of the Enlightenment Movement during the 18th century. There were some very radical people, who denied any supernatural authorities, and adopted a mercilessly critical attitude toward religion, view of nature, society, and the state system of the feudal age. They held that everything should defend its own existence before the court of rationality, or else give up its rights of existence. These beliefs of theirs were of progressive significance in the fight against feudalism, but what they wanted to found, "the kingdom of rationality was but an idealized kingdom of the bourgeoisie." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 57)

The rationality referred to by the thinkers of the Enlightenment Movement of the 18th century was essentially the conscience and intuitive knowledge of man. They spoke highly of rationality as the basis for thought and action, which was an idealistic theory. Even Hegel believed this to be "standing with one's head on the ground," namely, regarding the theory discovered by man's brain and through his thinking as the basis of all human activities and social combinations. The advocacy to let rationality be the judge was actually reversing the relation between rationality and the realities.

/Utopia/ Thomas More, British Utopian socialist of an earlier stage, wrote a book in 1516 entitled "A Golden Little Book Which Is Both Helpful and Interesting in the Most Perfect State System and the New Island of Utopia," shortened to "Utopia." The author criticized the social political and economic systems of England and other European countries of that time, and exposed the evils of the primitive accumulation of capitalism. He believed that private ownership was the root cause of all disasters and poverty in the world, and advocated the abolition of private ownership. He further fabricated an ideal society on the island of "Utopia," in which public

ownership is exercised, with everyone taking part in labor, everyone being happy and gay, and the principle of democracy being adopted. Engels called this "the fantastic description of an ideal social system." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 58) The book "Utopia" had great influence on the later development of Utopian socialism and this made "utopia" a synonym for "fantasy." All kinds of impractical fantasies and plans for social reform are called utopian.

/ "Real Socialism" / A sect of German petit-bourgeois socialism in the 1840's. Its representatives were Karl Geluen [2704 1774 1869], Moses Hess, Otto Luning [1159 2094 0712 1337], and so on. "Real socialism" distorted and emasculated French socialist ideas using German idealistic philosophical views, opposing class struggle with supra-class fraternity and abstract humanism, and strove to make socialism and communism "melt into humanism." It proclaimed that it was impartially transcending any class struggle, that it did not represent the interests of the proletariat but the interest of the intrinsic quality of man, namely, the interests of men in general. Actually, such men do not exist in reality. "Real socialism" denied the necessity of bourgeois democratic revolution in Germany, while opposing the development of capitalism. Glorifying the ownership of small plots of land in the patriarchal clan system, "real socialism" held that by adopting the method of equal distribution of land, it was possible to rid the small producers of exploitation. The petite-bourgeoisie was the foundation of the social system of Germany at that time. To preserve the petite-bourgeoisie was in reality to preserve the feudal system of Germany. "Real socialism" was a weapon the German autocratic government used to deal with the bourgeoisie, and a supplement to leather-thonged whips and bullets for suppressing the workers' revolts against the autocratic government.

In their work "The German Ideology," "Circular on Opposing Keligai [0344 0448 5556]," "German Socialism in Poetry and Prose," and in particular, the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels made resolute criticism of such reactionary ideological trends of "real socialism."

/Society of the Townspeople/ The term "society of the townspeople" was used by economists, historians, and philosophers of the 18th century. It corresponded to the term "political society" in expressing the political relation between the state and the law, and so on. In "The German Ideology" and other works, Marx and Engels often used this term to express the social economic relations connected with the productive force of a certain stage, namely: the totality of the human relations in their material life at a certain stage of historical development. Later, in the "Preface to 'Criticism of Political Economy,'" Marx used the concept of "the totality of relations of production" to more accurately express such relations.

/Platform Socialism/ This was a sect of bourgeois ideology between the 1870's to the 1890's. Its chief representatives were some professors of German universities at that time, such as A. Wagner, G. Schmuller, L. Bruntano [1580 0243 0942 6779], W. Sonbatt [2718 1572 3676] and so on. These people talked volubly on the platform of the university, divorced from realities, while advocating bourgeois reformism under the facade of socialism. Therefore, they were mocked as platform socialists.

Platform socialists regarded the bourgeois state as a supra-class organization, saying that it was capable of mediating the class contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, of perfecting the capitalist system by means of social reforms, and of gradually realizing "socialism" without infringing on the interests of the bourgeoisie. They regarded the nationalization of railways implemented by the Prussian government and the monopoly of tobacco and liquor by the state planned by Bismarck as "national socialism." They advocated the interference of the state in economic life, the unfolding of social insurance, the improvement of labor conditions, and so on, so as to relax class struggles.

The appearance of platform socialism was due to the fact that the bourgeoisie was afraid of the spread of Marxism and the development of the workers' movement, while trying its best to find a new means to make the laboring masses obedient to their rule.

/Vulgar Economics/ Vulgar economics first made its appearance in France and Great Britain in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, as an economic theory in defense of the capitalist system. Its background was the ever-growing intensification of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Vulgar economics inherited and developed the "vulgar factor" in bourgeois classical political economics, attaching no attention to studying the inner relations in the economic process, but beating about the bush on the external phenomena of things. It denied the labor theory of value, concealing the sources of profits, advocating class reconciliation, regarding the capitalist system as a social system of utmost perfection. Vulgar economics became a chief sect in opposing Marxist theory on economics after Marxist political economics appeared and won continuous victories in the workers' movement.

Representatives of vulgar economics at an earlier stage were Say of France, Malthus of Great Britain, and so on. The world economic crisis between 1929 and 1933 strongly pounded at the capitalist world, and the economics of Keynes appeared. John M. Keynes was the chief representative of modern vulgar economics. He advocated interference in economic life through the regulation of the state to relax a crisis, so as to save the capitalist system.

/The "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844"/ was the manuscript of an unfinished work of Marx in his early years, written in German between April and August 1844 in Paris. Part of the manuscript was published in Russian in the "Book Series of Marx and Engels" Volume 3 by the Soviet Union in 1927. It was included in the first edition of the "Complete Works of Marx and Engels" in Russian, Volume 3, in 1929. In 1932, the complete text in German was first published in the international edition of the "Complete Works of Marx and Engels" Part 1, Volume 3, and the present title was added by the editor. In the same year, Lanzhoo [2597 5417 5170 3676] and Mile [6701 1422], members of the German Social Democratic Party, included the manuscript in "Historical Materialism. A Collection of the Early Works of Karl Marx." Since its formal publication, it has drawn worldwide attention. Particularly since the 1950's, heated disputes have

taken place centering around the book, and people have made different and even opposite evaluations and explanations of it. The disputes focused on such questions as the place and role of the "manuscript" in the history of development of Marxist ideology, humanism, and alienation.

This work was composed of three manuscripts. The first manuscript probed into the economic realms of wages, capital, profits and rent; it put forth the idea of the alienation of labor, and criticized the capitalist economic system through analysis of the alienation of power. The second manuscript made an analysis of the relations of private properties. And the third manuscript made an analysis of the relation between private properties and labor, made an initial probe into communism, and made a criticism on Hegel's philosophical ideas.

The "Manuscripts" was an important step for Marx in advancing toward the founding of Marxism, in which there sparkled many valuable ideas. Nevertheless, the "Manuscripts" was an immature piece of Marxist work. In this writing, Marx attempted to explain history with the alienation of labor as the key concept, to expose the essence of private properties, and to sum up communism as the sublation of the self-alienation of man. This proves that Marx had not completely rid himself of the effects of the approach of idealistic speculative philosophy and the humanism [ren ben zhu yi [0086 2609 0031 5030]] of Feuerbach. Later, Marx founded historical materialism and the theory of surplus value, and no longer regarded alienation as the approach and key concept in explaining history and in criticizing the capitalist system, and no longer did he regard alienation as the "basic realm" of his doctrine. Despite the fact that Marx did use the term "alienation" in his more mature works, it was only used to describe the phenomenon of the antagonism between the capitalists and the workers.

CSO: 4004/63

ON THE ROAD TO SCALING THE SUMMIT OF QUALITY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 2, 26 Jan 84 inside back cover

[Article by Wang Zhiyong [3769 1807 3057] and Wang Ruizeng [3769 3843 1073]]

[Text] The Raoyang County Bicycle Lock Factory is a small collective enterprise with only 160 staff and workers and its major products are "Long March" brand electroplated bicycle locks.

At the very beginning, the door to the market was closed to this factory. In 1978, a large number of bicycle locks produced by this factory were stockpiled and the factory was on the verge of being wound up. However, since the beginning of 1980, the situation has greatly changed. In the first 9 months of 1983, the factory produced nearly 170,000 locks, but still failed to meet demand. At present, the products of this factory are on sale in 19 provinces and municipalities in our country. It has finally opened the door to the market.

How, then, was the door to the market opened?

The Raoyang County Bicycle Lock Factory was originally a small hardware factory that produced no fixed types of products, could only do work of maintenance and processing, and had little business. In 1977, they found a way to prosperity in the market--the shortage in the supply of bicycle locks. Therefore, the factory began to try to make bicycle locks. It purchased some blueprints from a bicycle lock factory in Tianjin and rushed to produce, in mechanical accordance with the blueprints, 400 bicycle locks that year. Despite the fact that their locks bore no trademark and had undergone no quality checks, these locks sold well in the market. In 1978, the factory decided to switch to lock production and changed its name to the "Raoyang County Bicycle Lock Factory," while the bicycle locks it produces have been formally branded as "Long March" brand locks.

Unexpectedly, following the beginning of batch production of "Long March" brand locks, the rough and slipshod manner of the production became known. A shop in the country was criticized by its customers for selling this factory's products. Why was the market closed to "Long March" brand locks, since there was actually a wide market for bicycle locks? The reason is the poor quality of the locks. It was the low quality of the locks which

itself blocked the way to the market. Facts have made the people in the factory see that the key to the door to the market is the good quality of their products. The market closed because of poor quality of products can only be opened through improving product quality.

One of the causes of the poor quality of the factory's products was that it lacked a work force with relatively good knowledge of technology. To solve this problem, on the one hand, the factory organized its staff and workers to learn technology through self-study and, on the other hand, it employed an old skilled worker and two engineers as teachers to give lectures on technology. Moreover, in order to solve the technological problems in its production, it sent staff and workers on six occasions to various specialized factories in Beijing, Tianjin and other places to study. The technological skill and knowledge of the staff and workers throughout the factory has been greatly improved.

However, the workers' mastery of technology does not mean a 100-percent assurance of product quality. For instance, a female worker with a relatively high level of skill produced more than 10 percent of reject products in three shifts because she wanted to get more bonus by producing more products. This not only gave rise to waste but also hindered the next process in production. This incident revealed the loopholes in the factory's management and sharply put forth the problem of making its management scientific. Every link in the production process is connected with product quality, which is, therefore, the comprehensive manifestation of the quality of the work in all aspects and links. Therefore, the factory established a quality control system while strengthening ideological education among its staff and workers. The quality responsibility system was implemented for everyone, in every process and link, giving awards as well as punishment. By 1980, 96 percent of the factory's locks were up to standard. In that year, the factory signed supply contracts with 40 units and its locks actually started a "long march" into the market.

"Long March" brand locks have started a long march into the market! Many of the staff and workers were fond of talking about this and thus became conceited. At that time--the first quarter of 1981--from its marketing staff, the factory unexpectedly learned that some of the shops that had bought locks from the factory previously had not extended their contracts with the factory. As a result, more than 14,000 of the more than 20,000 locks produced in that quarter were stockpiled.

Why had the goods which had sold well for a time previously become unsalable? With this question in their minds, the staff at the factory made widespread investigation in the market and concluded that there was no reduction in the quality of the factory's products, but that the quality of the same type had been improved and a new variety of similar products had come out. This enabled them to understand that the market could not be opened to a factory once and for all. In circumstances whereby there are many factories competing in the market, the quality of one factory's products is better than those of others in a relative sense. Therefore, as time goes on, the level of a factory's quality is lowered in comparison with the progress made in

the products of other factories, if there is no improvement in its products. As a result, the market will again be closed to the factory. A factory should never halt its progress in improving its quality.

In order to continuously improve the quality of its products, on the one hand, the factory has modestly learned from and introduced advanced technology from other factories and, on the other hand, it has vigorously and bravely carried out technological renovation. It has completed the transformation of 12 of its major pieces of equipment and carried out technological renovation in all the 101 working procedures of the lock production line. In 1982, in the Hebei provincial quality assessment, its locks won first place among similar products.

The problem of variety is an important aspect of the problem of quality. If the improvement of the quality of old products is regarded as a major tactic to achieve an immediate competitive edge and immediate economic results, the development of new varieties of products should be regarded as an important way to achieve a competitive edge in the future and to obtain even greater economic results. While continuing to improve the quality of the old products, the factory has developed, through market research and analysis of customers' psychology, three new types of bicycle locks. This factory is determined never to cease making efforts in scaling the summit of quality, thus keeping the market open to its products!

CSO: 4004/63

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